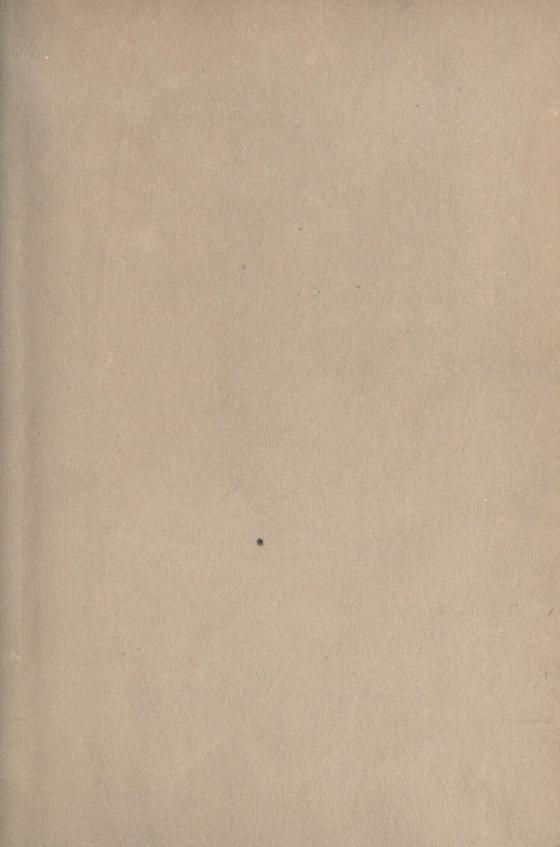
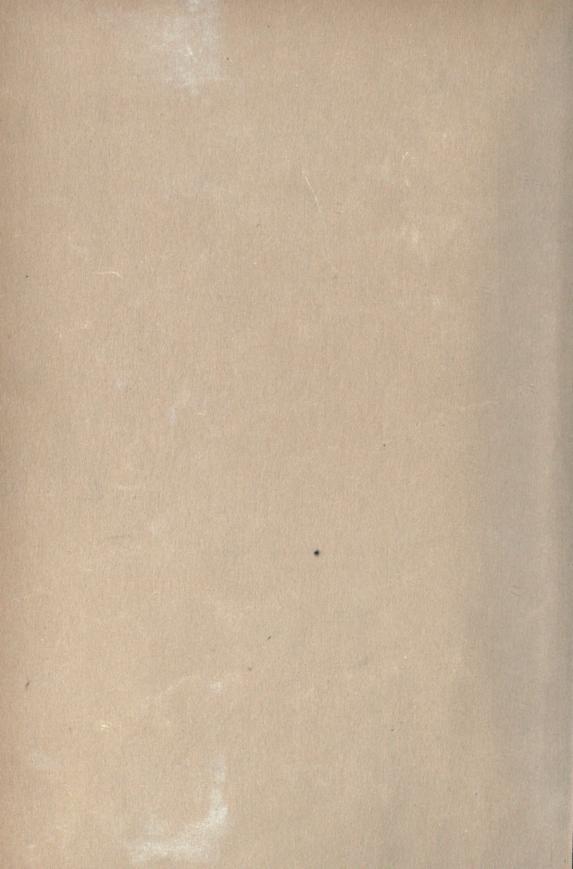


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THE

# **BIBLICAL WORLD**

EDITOR WILLIAM R. HARPER

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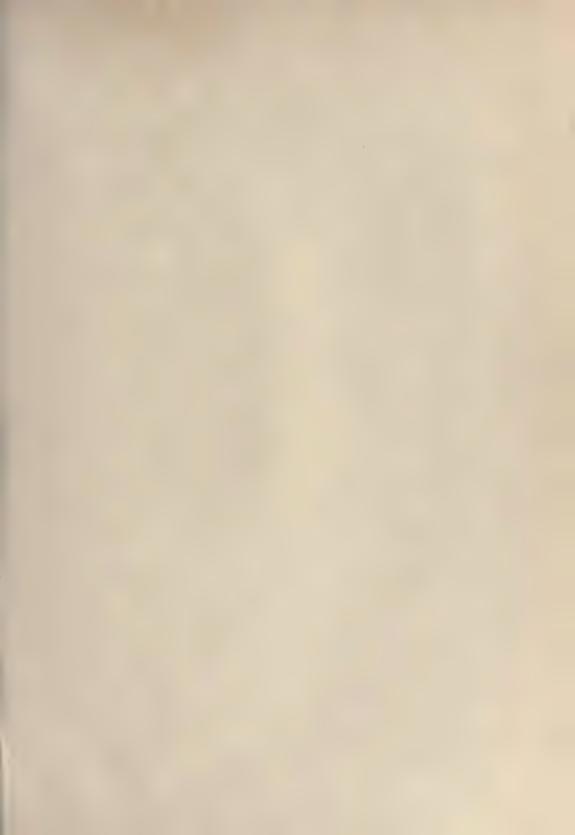
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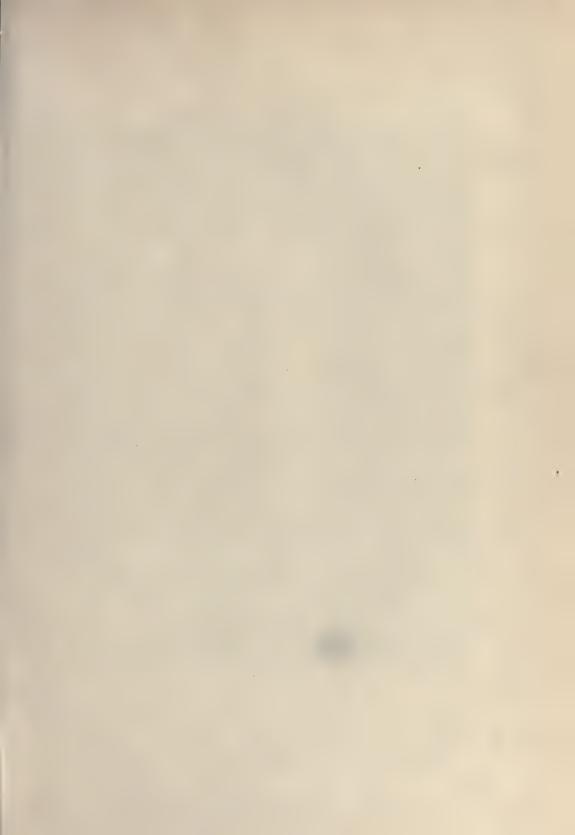
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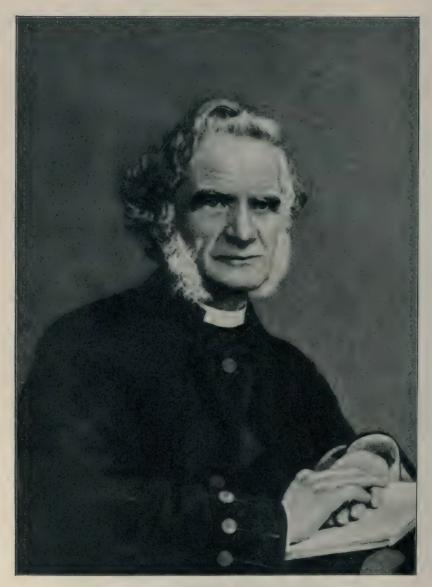
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THE LATE BISHOP BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D.

### THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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JULY, 1902

NUMBER I

### THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

RADICAL criticism has of late been given a new impetus by the unexpected prominence accorded the work of Van Manen in the Encyclopædia Biblica. The representative of a THE MADNESS coterie — one cannot say a school — of critics who, OF RADICAL CRITICISM IN 178 despite their mutual recommendations, have never LATEST PHASE stood accredited by criticism in general, Van Manen must now receive an attention which is wholly out of proportion to the sanity of his views or the trustworthiness of his methods. In the work of the coterie to which he belongs one can see the limit to which a literary unhistorical criticism is to A method whose final criterion is one's likes and dislikes; which is controlled by a persistent determination to reject rather than to interpret references to things miraculous; which magnifies literary inconsistencies into doctrinal and historical contradictions; which, in supreme disregard of documents, can determine a priori what historical situations should, would, and must have been, cannot expect to win approval except with editors possessed of a monomania for the reconstruction of historical sources, or to carry the study of the New Testament farther than a condescending agnosticism. For its champions to maintain that they are not destroying the religious value of the Bible is a bit of generosity as naïve as supererogatory. It is undoubtedly true that the religious value of the Bible as a whole does not depend exclusively upon its historical elements, for religious impressions and inspirations may be taught by noble myths and sagas, even after they are recognized as mere pedagogical forms for the inculcation and illustration of truths. It

is also true that such literary elements may be discovered in certain of the stories of the Old Testament heroes. All this, and even more, may be admitted; but common-sense, as well as historical instinct, rebels when we are asked to believe that Christianity would have come into being if its historical basis consisted of a shadowy Jesus known to us only through a few self-depreciatory sentences; a semi-mythical tent-maker. "probably a Jew by birth," who made one journey of which there is little or no record, who had never dreamed of "Paulinism," and who is to be known best in a writing which is no longer extant; and a collection of pseudepigraphic letters written by a school who chose to bear the name of this "Paul," who zealously defended the apostolic authority of a man of whom they knew all but nothing, who created historical situations suitable to justify them in attributing to him doctrines of which he had no suspicion, and the need of which was not felt in their own day. Such a wholesale auto-da-fé of historical elements is at the expense of all historical method, of all sane criticism, and of all Christian history. So far from ridding the student of the supernatural, it demands belief in the most eccentric of miracles. In the place of deeds said to have been done by Jesus and his followers, it asks us to accept a miracle of literary and religious invention which has not even a scintilla of motive. Jesus we know, and Paul we know, but who are these creators of pseudepigraphic miracles in the interest of issues that never existed, and for the defense of an unilluminated, inefficient saint dead for a century-if, indeed, he was historical enough even to die?

At the opposite extreme from such positions as these of radical criticism are those of the extreme literalist. With him THE CONSISTENCY nothing is of value in religion unless it be based of the upon historical supernaturalism. To him that which is on the pages of the Bible is not only true, but it is authoritative for all times, and it matters not whether it be the duty of feet-washing, a prohibition against pork, the directions for healing through the combined efficacy of oil and prayer, the

speedy second coming of Jesus, or the command to love God and man. All are of co-ordinate and eternal importance.

An increasing number of men and women, completely ignoring the historical medium through which the events of the early church are seen, are holding to this literalism with a consistency that often shades into fanaticism. In effect, of course, they are insisting that the Christianity of today shall not only be the Christianity of the first century, but shall also reproduce the Hebraism of the earliest days of the Jewish state. But this consideration is not one to suggest to them pause. The Bible is God's word, and his word once uttered is everywhere, always, and literally authoritative. Such a position is intelligible, and is consistent. It is also inevitable once its premises are granted.

Popular biblical teaching, in so far as it is not carried on by men of this second class, attempts to avoid the extravagances of THE ATTEMPT literalism by an occasional recognition of historical AT COMPROMISE values. It will admit that the teaching of Paul con-WITH LITERALISM cerning silence of women in the churches was intended only for the Corinthians; that the command of Jesus given to his disciples for washing each others' feet was a recognition of oriental conventionality; that the references of Paul to communion with demons, and to the rock which followed the Israelites during their wanderings, were either of the nature of ad hominem arguments, or the use of current beliefs for merely illustrative purposes. Yet, while these concessions are made in order to avoid a literalism that leads to objectionable doctrines and practices, popular biblical teaching refuses to admit as a regulating premise of study that the Bible is always to be interpreted as are these particulars. Wherever a saying is not peculiarly objectionable to practical common-sense or some denominational creed, it denies that the student has any right to discover in it any element which is not eternally authoritative. Historical material may be used to illustrate, but not to interpret, biblical teachings. Beliefs current among Jews or gentiles are not historical media through which to see truth, but, if once used by New Testament writers, become ipso facto the content of Christian doctrines.

Such a position cannot for a moment hold its own in a debate with the literalist. The widespread distress which literalism is creating among Christian people cannot be obviated 178 FUTILITY by any method according to which this teaching is local and temporary, and this other teaching is eternal, simply on the basis that it is "sensible" so to hold. The general position taken by current biblical teaching as regards the Bible leaves it entirely at the mercy of the faith healer and his confrères. There has seldom arisen a controversy in which the literalist has not won a technical victory over the semi-literalist. It cannot be otherwise as long as the two parties refuse to accept the historical point of view. To make permanent authority co-extensive with inspiration, and at the same time insist that certain elements of the Bible are intended only for certain times and places, is to invite defeat when dealing with the consistent literalist. And therefore it comes about that for apologetic purposes semi-literalism is open to all the objections brought against literalism, and is weakened by its own inconsistency.

Is there, then, no escape from an anti-supernatural literary criticism which strips the New Testament of historical value, THE POSSIBILITY except in a consistent, unhistorical literalism which LYING IN A TRULY would turn men and women into Jews of the first century in order that they may become Christians in HISTORICAL METHOD the twentieth? In our opinion the means of escape lie close at hand in the very principles so vacillatingly recognized by popular biblical study—a true historical method of studying the Bible. Such a method recognizes the Bible as the repository of final moral and religious truth, but it also holds as a general principle that revelation is made through human history, and in consequence that, since it is progressive, each advanced stage of revelation renders its predecessor in certain respects outgrown. To such a view the successive stages of religious growth are of the utmost value, but are authoritative only in so far as each is embodied in the final revelation. It therefore holds that the first duty of the student is to understand a given teaching as it arose and was applied to a given historical situation.

The true historical method will also recognize the fact that the essential and permanent elements of Christianity may not lie in the media of the Palestinian or Græco-Roman custom or vocabulary or concept in which they found their first expression. The teaching of the different biblical writers is mutually complementary, not identical. Each is a phase of religious experiences and truth, and, short of the final revelation of God in humanity given in Jesus, cannot be final. Even in his case, the accidents of a historical environment must be recognized and estimated before he is seen in his fullest worth. In order to discover what is final in the teaching of Paul and his contemporaries, one must so study the teaching of Jesus and his followers as to distinguish that which he and they make the essential truth rather than the pedagogical or historical form. The method involved may appear difficult, but it is at least without dialectic jugglery. By the simplest of comparative processes one discriminates the grain from the husk, the spirit from the letter. Believing in a progressive revelation through a developing humanity, one seeks to distinguish that which developed from that which was its momentary historical phase.

A true historical study will not make hostility to the superhuman a criterion of this comparison. While by no means credulous, it will not be incredulous. Material which presents characteristics of legends must of course be treated as legendary, but matter which is difficult to explain will not be rejected simply on that account. Yet, on the other hand, it will not be shocked at an attempt to understand miracles. God is none the less in the world because his acts are understood and classified. The explanation of his presence may vary according to the habits of thought of different epochs. Divine immanence and inspiration are inextricably associated with any belief in God. Why not then seek to understand rather than to enforce interpretations given in unscientific ages to the manifestation of the divine energy?

It would seem that, so far as the use of the Bible is concerned, evangelical faith stands at the parting of the ways. Occasionally, it may be, its representatives may be swept by philosophical presuppositions into a denial of historical worth to the New Testament; but the real choice lies between literalism of the type that of late has become so aggressive, and a THE PRESENT genuinely historical treatment of the Scriptures. CRISIS Between representatives of the two points of view there may be, and we trust always will be, Christian charity and forbearance, but between the two methods there is no compromise. The situation is but a reappearance of the old question answered by Paul in his letters to the Galatians and the Romans. new Judaism in Christianity seeks to re-enact an outgrown law and to bring Christianity under the bond of an ancient past; the new Paulinism seeks to find its supreme authority in the work of the Spirit in the life of the follower of Jesus, and to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has set us free. Both parties are seriously, passionately devoted to truth; neither would under any consideration consciously detract from the supremacy of Jesus, or from the necessity of religious experience. The question concerns simply the authority to be assigned to the forms and the earlier stages of revelation which both admit to have been progressive.

There can be but one alternative; if Christian teachers insist that one must accept the unhistorical treatment of the Bible, the masses will grow atheistic, and the educated classes will grow agnostic. If a truly religious and historical treatment be accorded the Bible, Christianity will grow less insistent upon logic and more devoted to humanity—that is, more Christlike.

There is need of a modern Paul.

#### BISHOP BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT.

By REV. F. H. CHASE, D.D.,
President of Queen's College and Norrisian Professor of Divinity,
Cambridge University, England.

I HAVE had the honor to be asked to write for the BIBLICAL WORLD a memorial to the late Dr. Westcott, bishop of Durham. Pressure of work has obliged me to defer till the Easter vacation the attempt to respond to this invitation. Perhaps, too, the temptation to delay has been strengthened by my sense of the difficulty of dealing at all adequately with the life and the work of a teacher to whom for many years I have looked with the deepest reverence.

It seems due to the reader of a biographical article that the writer should state how near to the person commemorated he was himself brought. Without unduly intruding myself, may I be allowed to say this much? I came up to Cambridge as a freshman just two years after Dr. Westcott had been appointed Regius professor of divinity, and in various ways as an undergraduate I came indirectly under his influence, though it was not till after I had taken my degree that I was able to attend a course of his lectures. After an absence from Cambridge of three years, I came into residence again in October, 1879. I was present when, at the begining of that October term, Dr. Westcott lectured for the first time in the large lecture-room of the then recently completed Divinity School. From that time onward, for several years, I constantly attended his professorial lectures on the epistle to the Hebrews and his less formal lectures '-his Monday evening lectures -- on "Heads of Christian Doctrine." In 1884 I became tutor of the Clergy Training School, in the foundation of which, in 1881, Dr. Westcott had taken a foremost part and of which he was the first president.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These lectures were given to a small class, many of whom were graduates. They have been published in the volume *The Gospel of Life*.

In connection with the Clergy School, and in other ways, I was brought much into contact with him till he left Cambridge for Durham in 1890.

Brooke Foss Westcott was born at Birmingham in January, 1825. One circumstance of his boyhood molded all his afterlife. He became the pupil of Prince Lee (afterward the first bishop of Manchester) at King Edward the Sixth's Grammar School, in his native town. That school and that master gave to the church, it should be remembered, the great trio of friends: Benson (archbishop of Canterbury), Lightfoot, and Westcott. Different as they were in character and in their methods of work, the three were destined singly and together to exercise a wide influence on English religious thought. Each of them has paid a characteristic tribute of grateful affection toward their common teacher. Dr. Westcott's verdict is decisive: "He was the greatest, as I believe, among the teachers of his time."2 In 1844 Dr. Westcott came up to Trinity College, Cambridge. Four years later he graduated as senior classic; and, having been elected fellow of Trinity, was ordained as deacon and as priest in 1851 by his former head master.

We may roughly mark off three periods in Dr. Westcott's working life: he was successively student, teacher, and ecclesiastical tutor.

I. The student.—Dr. Westcott remained in residence in Cambridge for some four years after taking his degree. In later life he often spoke of the value which he attached to residence at the university after the bachelor of arts degree. It is a time, he held, when a thoughtful student can take a wider and maturer view of what a university is and what a university teaches. In his own case it was during those few years that the first stone of the fabric of his future literary work was laid. In 1851 he gained the Norrisian prize with an essay on "The Elements of Gospel Harmony." Out of this prize essay there grew the well-known book The Introduction to the Study of the Gospels. It was characteristic of Dr. Westcott, as of his friends, Drs. Lightfoot and Hort, that no opinion was put forward by him which he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Christian Aspects of Life, p. 188.

had not fully considered in the light of all available evidence, and that any such opinion, though often reconsidered, was seldom, if ever, changed, except in cases when some fresh evidence had become accessible. It was so here. The theory that the origin of the synoptic gospels is to be sought in oral tradition and not in written documents, maintained in his first book, he



DR. WESTCOTT'S LECTURE-ROOM AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

held unwaveringly till the end of his life. General opinion has strongly set in a direction opposite to that of Dr. Westcott's view; but, we are far from having heard the last word on the synoptic problem.

In 1852 Dr. Westcott left Cambridge for a mastership at Harrow, and a schoolmaster he continued for seventeen years. Here we have a concrete example of the conditions under which much of the best English work in the world of scholarship is done. The specialist among us, as contrasted with the specialist

in Germany, is often, as it must seem at first sight, sadly hampered by the press of practical duties. Yet counterbalancing advantages are not wanting. The scholar who has been so trained and disciplined is forearmed against the temptation to treat questions, literary or religious, as a recluse; he is likely to be able to regard them in their context of life. And in the case of Dr. Westcott the work to which he gave so many years had yet another effect. He was long brought into close contact with the young; and from them, as he used to say, he drew the inspiration of hope. Few, indeed, who have so resolutely faced the hard problems of this mysterious world have retained, as he did, their early optimism. No doubt this optimism had its ultimate source in faith, an intense faith in a living God; but it was fostered by the environment of his life as a teacher, both at Harrow and at Cambridge.

The years which were thus devoted to the exacting calling of a master at a great public school, with the cares of a large household of boys pressing on him, were far indeed from being barren of finished literary work. To them belongs a series of articles in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with subjects mostly preparatory to the study of the New Testament, e.g., the books of Baruch, of Daniel, of Enoch, and of the Maccabees, Philosophy, the Vulgate—articles whose suggestiveness still makes them worthy of study; also, some of his most noteworthy books: History of the New Testament Canon (1855), Characteristics of Gospel Miracles (1859), Introduction to the Study of the Gospels (1860), The Bible in the Church (1864), The Gospel of the Resurrection (1866), and The History of the English Bible (1869). All the time he was engaged in constant and elaborate correspondence with Dr. Hort in preparation for their joint edition of the text of the New Testament, which actually appeared about a week before the publication of the Revised Version of the New Testament in May, 1881. As yet, however, Dr. Westcott was but little known outside a comparatively small circle of scholarly friends. He was the student.

2. The teacher.—In 1869 Dr. Westcott left Harrow for a canonry at Peterborough. Like his friend, Dr. Benson, he had

definite and far-reaching views as to the true function of cathedrals in the life of the English church.<sup>3</sup> The special task in this connection which he felt to be laid upon himself was the preparation of candidates for ordination. His work, however, was to be wrought out with larger opportunities of service than even an ancient cathedral can supply. In the following year the Regius professorship of divinity at Cambridge became vacant. Dr. Lightfoot, who had been Hulsean professor since 1861, had long seemed marked out as pre-eminently fitted to be the head of the theological faculty. But this was not the issue. Dr. Westcott has himself told us what happened: "He [i. e., Dr. Lightfoot] called me to Cambridge to occupy a place which was his own by right; and having done this he spared no pains to secure for his colleague favorable opportunities for action, while he himself withdrew in some sense from the position which he had long virtually occupied." It was a noble act of self-effacement, destined to be fruitful of lasting benefit to Cambridge and to the larger world of theological thought. In the same year the work of the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament began, and in this laborious task Dr. Westcott, with Drs. Lightfoot and Hort, took a prominent share. A younger generation of students of the New Testament finds not a little to criticise in the Revised Version in regard to its English diction and its scholarship. It is remarkable that Dr. Westcott to the end of his life championed its cause and foretold its ultimate acceptance.5

I shall presently endeavor to speak of my own remembrance of Dr. Westcott as a teacher. Here I note the vigor and the large-mindedness with which he threw himself into the general work of the university. He was an earnest supporter, for example, of the effort which was made about this time, and which has proved eminently fruitful of good results, to extend the influ-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See, e. g., the preface to a volume of Peterborough sermons, *The Christian Life*, *Manifold and One* (1869). To this period belongs a little book which illustrates Dr. Westcott's versatility, *The Paragraph Psalter*, *Arranged for Choirs*. His analysis of the Psalms is valuable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Preface to Bishop Lightfoot's posthumous edition of Clement, p. viii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See especially Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament (1897); Lessons from Work (1901), pp. 145-74.

ence of the university throughout the country by means of local lectures. He had a generous belief in the principle that strength comes through diffusion. But, of course, it was the religious office of the university on which he laid the greatest stress. He returned to Cambridge just at the time when the old order in regard to the relation of the Church of England to the university was passing away, and when many looked forward with dismay to the issues of the change. Dr. Westcott took a more hopeful view of the future, a view which has been confirmed by the event. He wrote in 1873:

No student of theology who has been allowed to work in Cambridge in these later days will refuse to acknowledge with gratitude the increasing opportunities which are offered there for realizing the power of that final synthesis of thought and experience and faith which is slowly unfolded through the ages, and yet summed up for us forever in the facts of our historic creed.<sup>6</sup>

But here also he saw that the sacred duty of diffusion on the largest scale was imperative. Soon after he became professor, Dr. Westcott, speaking in the university church, urged the claims of foreign missions, and especially of India, "our own India," on the university:

The conversion of Asia is the last and greatest problem which has been reserved for the church of Christ. It is through India that the East can be approached. It is to England that the evangelizing of India has been intrusted by the providence of God. It is by the concentration of all that is ripest in thought, of all that is wisest in counsel, of all that is intensest in devotion, that the work must be achieved.

The response to this appeal, often repeated with glowing insistence, was the Cambridge mission to Delhi, the first members of which went out in 1877. Over this mission Dr. Westcott presided till his death; and its patient educational policy was in truth the embodiment of his faith and wisdom.

It is to these years we owe the three great commentaries, which were the heart and core of all Dr. Westcott's work — on the gospel according to St. John (1880), on the epistles of St. John (1883), on the epistle to the Hebrews (1889).

<sup>6</sup> On Some Points in the Religious Office of the Universities, p. xii.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

In 1881 was published the edition of the text of the New Testament known as that of Westcott and Hort, together with the Introduction. The writing of the latter volume and the other accompaniments of the text had devolved on Dr. Hort. But probably there was no point in connection with any of the complicated problems treated which the two workers had not fully discussed together in writing. The correspondence which passed between them has been preserved and, with other papers of Dr. Hort's, is in the keeping of Emmanuel College. It should be remembered that, so far back as 1860, the three friends, Westcott, Lightfoot, and Hort, had planned together a commentary on the New Testament. They divided the whole number of books (with the exception apparently of the Apocalypse) between themselves.8 The epistles of St. Paul were assigned to Dr. Lightfoot; the synoptic gospels, the Acts, and the epistles of St. James, St. Peter, and St. Jude, to Dr. Hort; while the gospel and the epistles of St. John, to which a subsequent arrangement added the epistle to the Hebrews, fell to Dr. Westcott. The extent of Dr. Lightfoot's work on St. Paul is well known. Dr. Hort's share is represented by the important fragment on I Peter (published posthumously), which will, I trust, be followed in due time by a perhaps larger fragment on St. James. Dr. Westcott completed his portion of the work on the eve of his leaving Cambridge for Durham.

Thus in study and teaching, in unremitting labor in the cause of all that is highest and most enduring in the life of a university—all, that is, which in the widest sense of the word is spiritual—the twenty years of Dr. Westcott's professoriate passed. They were broken in upon by two events of importance. In 1879 Dr. Lightfoot left Cambridge for Durham. Dr. Westcott was one of those who urged him to accept the bishopric, with its larger opportunities of service. But the loss to the world of scholarship and of theology was irreparable; and, since Dr. Hort, who had become Hulsean professor in 1875, was able to take but little part in public work of a general character, Dr. Westcott

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Life and Letters of F. J. A. Hort, I, pp. 417 ff.; Dr. WESTCOTT'S preface to Dr. Hort's Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Peter.

was, in a sense, left to bear the burden of leadership in Cambridge alone. The other important change was Dr. Westcott's appointment, in 1884, to a canonry at Westminster Abbey. It can hardly be doubted that this new work and the contact with the larger world of the metropolis had a strong formative influence on him. His power of expression became freer and less academic, the bearing of Christianity on social and national life came to have a still larger place in his teaching.

3. The ecclesiastical tutor.—In March, 1890, came the call to take up the work of Bishop Lightfoot at Durham. As Dr. Hort wrote to him, it was a summons, not merely to Durham, but, since his lifelong friend, Dr. Benson, had been archbishop of Canterbury since 1884, to Durham in conference with Lambeth.9 Many of those who knew Dr. Westcott felt a not unnatural fear that he was too much of a mystic to deal effectively with the practical calls which swarm around one who holds the office of bishop in the national church. The issue rebuked the misgiving. Dr. Westcott's eleven years at Durham showed that the true idealist—the man, that is, who insists on penetrating to principles and on being guided, not by expediency, but by principles in all departments of life; who in things temporal and earthy discerns a manifestation of the spiritual and the eternal—can yet be-or should I not rather say, can therefore be-the most practical worker and the most potent inspirer of practical workers.

Of the Durham period of Dr. Westcott's life little here must be said, nor can I speak of it from personal knowledge. One element in the work which remained for him to do can alone be noticed. He himself wrote:

It can very rarely happen that one who has spent long and busy years as student and teacher should be suddenly called at the close of life to the oversight of a diocese in which the problems of modern life are presented in the most urgent and impressive form. . . . The faith which has been pondered in quiet must without preparation be brought into the market-place and vindicated as a power of action. 10

Life and Letters of F. J. A. Hort, II, pp. 412 f.

<sup>10</sup> The Incarnation and Common Life, Preface, p. v.

There was, indeed, now given to Dr. Westcott the opportunity of translating into action, and of urging from the vantage ground of a great public position, his convictions as to the social aspects of Christianity. These convictions were very definite and had grown stronger as the meaning of the gospel was more and more clearly apprehended by him. While still a master at Harrow he had deeply impressed his hearers by a sermon on "Disciplined Life;" on types of such a life seen in the past-Antony, Benedict, Francis of Assisi; on the need of a new type in the present differing from those that have gone before in being social. And now among the activities of the north he worked out something of the social interpretation of the apostolic faith. He regarded, I am told, his successful mediation in the great coal strike in Durham as the happiest event of his life. It was deeply characteristic that his last public utterance, about ten days before his death, was an address in Durham cathedral to an association of miners.

I have ventured thus to dwell on the details of Dr. West-cott's life because to regard him simply as a scholar, or as a writer, or as a theologian, is strangely to miss the meaning of his example. All life—"all the fulness of life," to use a phrase which was often on his lips—was to him a reality which he strove to understand, a part of the kingdom of Christ in relation to which he had his duty of service to perform. It was the unity and the remarkable variety of his life which together gave it its deep significance.

It is time, however, that I should try to give some estimate of Dr. Westcott's character as a teacher in regard to the interpretation of the New Testament and in the sphere of theology. I preface what I have to say by a word or two as to the substance and as to the style of his utterances.

I should like to emphasize the width of knowledge and of culture which formed the background of his words. Anyone who will read the volume of Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West will be able to recognize the range of Dr. Westcott's view and the delicacy of his literary taste. Among the subjects treated are "The Myths of Plato," "The Dramatist

(Æschylus) as Prophet," "Euripides as a Religious Teacher," "Some Points in Browning's View of Life," "The Relation of Christianity to Art." Different, however, as are the subjects of the essays, they are bound together by a characteristic unity of motive. Dr. Westcott wrote in the preface:

It seemed to me that a careful examination of the religious teaching of representative prophetic masters of the West, if I may use the phrase, would help toward a better understanding of the power of the Christian creed.

Closely connected in subject-matter with these *Essays* is the section in *The Gospel of Life* which deals with "Pre-Christian Book Religions." Dr. Westcott held that through such a study Christianity is seen to be the absolute religion:

For if Christianity be, as we believe, universal, then every genuine expression of human religious thought will enable us to see in the gospel some corresponding truth which answers to it. . . . In the growing assurance that the gospel meets every real need of humanity, we shall find the highest conceivable proof of its final and absolute truth. (The Gospel of Life, pp. 121 f.)

It is, indeed, essentially the same conception as is familiar to us in the writings of Clement of Alexandria—the philosophy of the Greeks was a covenant from God like the law of the Hebrews—but it has become more definite and more comprehensive.

But, to pass from the matter to what rather concerns the manner of Dr. Westcott's teaching, how far is it true that, as is often alleged, Dr. Westcott's style is obscure? To that class of minds which values above all things sharp, clearly marked outlines; formulæ which are definite and which seem to contain a promise of being final—to such minds Dr. Westcott's teaching must always be lacking in qualities which they most desiderate. But to those who regard the most authoritative statements as necessarily only approximations to the ultimate truth, and who confess that to the minds of men the highest truths must ever shade off into the twilight and then into the night of mystery-to them his teaching will be in a rare degree suggestive and stimulating. It does not pretend to explain to us what in our moments of most real thought we feel to be indeed inexplicable; but it brings in the assurance that the complete interpretation of every riddle is involved in the person of

Christ, and that it is for us to strive to understand him a little better. But, apart from these larger questions as to the intellectual standpoint, are Dr. Westcott's writings, were his spoken words, obscure? The answer must be "yes" and "no." For, in the first place, it must be remembered that probably Dr. Westcott's important utterances, whether written or spoken, were parts of a system of religious philosophy, over which he had long pondered. Hence when he spoke or wrote he condensed. He gave not the complete process, but rather the results, of meditation. The student must learn to reconstruct the lines of thought, of which the words are the partial index. And doubtless this is a large demand on the reader's powers of attention and sympathy. Again, we may contrast Dr. Westcott with such a teacher as Cardinal Newman. The latter lived from the first in a world of debate and conference with men of many kinds. He formed his views on great subjects as he was discussing them. Hence he acquired a style which, however impressive, is yet characterized by ease and freedom. Dr. Westcott, on the other hand, was in his earlier days, except for his intimate association with a small circle of friends, a solitary thinker. And hence he grew accustomed to express his meaning in language which was peculiarly characteristic of himself. Thus a student, when he first heard him, was perplexed by a phraseology which was new and strange. Gradually, in the case of thoughtful men, the sense of bewilderment faded away; the language became familiar and acquired a definite and clear significance. Doubtless the magnetic influence of a great personality was a potent interpreter. His writings, especially his earlier writings, must perhaps always present difficulties except to those who so read as to be in sympathy with the mind which speaks to them. His works will remain sealed books to the hasty and casual searcher for an immediate solution of a problem.

I turn then to the biblical work of Dr. Westcott. It did not come within his province to deal very directly with the problems of the Old Testament. His general attitude toward them, however, may be gathered from such words as these:

The Old Testament, as we receive it, is the record of the way in which

God trained a people for the Christ in many parts and in many modes, the record which the Christ himself and his apostles received and sanctioned. How the record was brought together, out of what materials, at what times, under what conditions, are questions of secondary importance.<sup>11</sup>

Nor yet again can we gain from his writings any clear opinion on not a few questions which yet lay within their scope. What was his verdict on the authenticity of 2 Peter? I am not aware that he ever expressed himself more definitely than he did at the close of the book on the canon of the New Testament:

The canonicity of the second epistle by St. Peter, which on purely historical grounds cannot be pronounced certainly authentic, is yet supported by evidence incomparably more weighty than can be alleged in favor of that of the epistle of Barnabas, or of the Shepherd of Hermas, the best-attested of apocryphal writings.

Again, I cannot remember any passage in his writings where he discusses the question whether all parts of the synoptic gospels are on a level as historical authorities.12 In regard to St. John's gospel—for I absolutely accept the conclusion of Dr. Westcott, Dr. Lightfoot, and other scholars that the fourth gospel is indeed the apostle's work - Dr. Westcott admits that the hand of St. John has considerably molded the report of the Lord's discourses. "An inspired record of words," he says (Introduction to the Commentary on St. John, p. lviii), "like an inspired record of the outward circumstances of a life, must be an interpretation." But, as the context seems to show, the molding which Dr. Westcott has in mind is rather part of a process of condensation than extending to expansion and addition. Years ago, when Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort were working among us in Cambridge and Dr. Lightfoot was still in frequent consultation with them, younger men had a feeling that all the great problems of the New Testament had been solved or were being solved by the three great masters. We may be sure that they did not share this feeling. We know now that the heritage which they have left us is not a collection of solutions of New Testament problems final and complete, but the example of their method and of their spirit.

<sup>11</sup> The Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 493.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See, e. g., his treatment of Matt. 27:51 f. in Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, p. 325.

I wish that I could give an adequate description of Dr. Westcott's lectures. If one could make such bargains, there are few things I would not give as the price of living over again a very few of the hours spent in the large lecture-rooms of the Divinity School. Their very remembrance is a lifelong inspiration. I suppose that what primarily impressed us was his intense earnestness. It was a prophet living in the spiritual world that spoke to us. And next he communicated to his hearers his own sense of the living reality of the words on which he commented. He was fond of quoting a quaint saying of Luther's: "The Bible is a living creature with hands and with feet." It was such to him, not a dead literature, however noble, but living voices speaking out of life and for life. Dr. Westcott once said (Christian Aspects of Life, p. 191):

If I were to select one endowment which I have found most precious to me in the whole work of life, I should select the absolute belief in the force of words which I gained through the strictest verbal criticism. Belief in words is finally belief in thought, belief in man. Belief in words is a guide to the apprehension of the prophetic element in the works of genius. The deeper teachings of poetry are not disposed of by the superficial question, "Did the writer mean all that?" "No," we boldly answer; "yet he said it because he saw the truth which he did not, and perhaps at the time could not, consciously analyze."

So, he would urge, the apostles did not themselves apprehend the full contents of the message which they were inspired to deliver. Their words were greater than their thoughts, and their words remain for us patiently, in the growing light of history and experience, to interpret. Hence every phrase and turn of expression was examined with an exact precision which yet never became wearisome. The words used by the apostolic writers were, he maintained, the most appropriate possible. He used to urge his pupils to retranslate passages of the English version and to compare their rendering with the original, and thus to cultivate a sense of the fulness and subtle beauty of the apostolic language. My most vivid remembrance of his lectures is, I think, the few moments which he spent at the beginning of the hour in bringing out the points in carefully selected passages which he had asked us to retranslate and study. Another char-

acteristic of Dr. Westcott's teaching, which must stand out in the memory of those who used to hear him, is that the apostolic words were studied in the context of life. The hand of the restorer was of course needed here. There was the necessary process of piecing together fragmentary relics of the life of the apostolic age, and the full image could not be recreated But the effort was made, not as a barren exercise of antiquarian skill, nor because a New Testament book requires an introduction, but because only so could the message of the book to our own time be rightly apprehended. To apply to himself his own words about Dr. Lightfoot (In Memoriam, p. 47):

For him the interpretation of ancient texts was a study in life. He held books to be a witness of something far greater, through which alone they could be understood. A Greek play, or a fragmentary inscription, or a letter of Basil, or a homily of Chrysostom was to him a revelation of men stirred by like passions with ourselves, intelligible only through a vital apprehension of the circumstances under which they were written.

It is only when we know, at least approximately, the relation between our own position and the environment in which those addressed lived that we can rightly transfer to ourselves the teaching of a book. Interpretation is of the nature of proportion. Thus, to take but one example, Dr. Westcott used to insist that the epistle to the Hebrews has a peculiar meaning for ourselves, because it was originally addressed to men who thought bitterly of their apparent losses and who overlooked the fulfilment in Christ of all which they held most dear in what they were surrendering. The highest gain came to them in the guise of bewildering loss. He says in his preface to the commentary:

No work in which I have been allowed to spend many years of continuous labors has had for me the same intense human interest as the study of the epistle to the Hebrews.

Dr. Westcott wrote much on Christian doctrine; and with a brief notice of his doctrinal position I bring this paper to an end. He did not deal with these subjects as a professed philosopher, speaking in the technical language of philosophy, but rather as a student who could not but think out for himself the ultimate problems of life.

Every man, he taught, is so constituted as to recognize three final existences - self, the world, and God. Of the existence of God we can have no intellectually convincing proof. Arguments drawn from the world and from man's consciousness may confirm, but they cannot create, the conviction that God is. We believe then that God is, and that man was created with a capacity of knowing Him. Man, as created, was to attain his perfection through the incarnation of the Word. The intrusion of sin blurred, but did not destroy, man's affinity to God; and it was not allowed to frustrate the primary purpose that the Word should become flesh. The incarnation, in other words, was not an expedient caused by sin, but it was conditioned by the effects of sin; for it must include victory over sin and reconciliation between man and God. Hence it must needs involve, not only (like the act of creation) the condescension of self-limitation, but suffering, conflict with sin, death. Thus, in the fulfilment of the divine purpose in man's creation, "the Word became flesh." The gospel is based, not on speculations, but on facts. Our faith is a historic faith. But there are two further characteristics of the incarnation. On the one hand, though the revelation is historic, it is not completed as a history external to ourselves. It is brought into vital touch with each through the gift of the Spirit, sent in Christ's name as Christ was sent in the Father's name, and witnessing of Christ as Christ witnessed of the Father.

Little by little the Spirit is bringing the uttermost realities of being, bringing home, that is, Christ and the things of Christ to each man and to all men (*Historic Faith*, p. 108).

And, on the other hand, the incarnation is the source of a social religion. Out of it there necessarily grows the catholic church, i. e., the Christian society which is ideally universal as to place and time, and which is intrusted with the whole sum of revealed truth. Hence history records the gradual working out of God's purpose in the incarnation and of man's slow apprehension of the blessings and obligations of the divine gift. The questions of each age, social, intellectual, and spiritual, find their true interpretation in Christ. New aspects of the gospel answer to fresh needs. These are the thoughts which inspire much of

Dr. Westcott's latest utterances. I choose one typical passage from the book published just after his death, and which was evidently designed by him to be a restatement of the truths which he held to be most vital:

The church welcomes the experience of the past, not as exhaustive or finally authoritative, but as educative. Slowly the Spirit brings the truth in many parts to the minds of men, as they can bear it, by showing to them things of Christ, through their circumstances, their experience, their thought. Thus the apprehension of successive divine messages is determined by national history and national character. This interpretation of the fundamental creed is continuous. We do not believe simply that God has spoken, but that he is speaking. We are still living under the new order of revelation—one more far-reaching than all before—which began at the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost; and in the gradual unfolding of the glories of Christ, which follows from that divine endowment of the church, each age, each race, each people has its part (Lessons from Work, p. 7).

# THE CIVILIZATION OF CANAAN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY B. C.

By PROFESSOR LEWIS B. PATON, Ph.D., Hartford Theological Seminary.

Our sources of information for the civilization of the fifteenth century B. C. are fuller than for most other periods of the history of Canaan. We have not only the Annals of Thothmes III., which give a remarkably full account of the products of the land, but also the Amarna letters, which set before us the life, manners, and customs of the country, with all the vividness of contemporary records. From these sources, as well as from the allusions of the Egyptian monuments, statements of the Old Testament, and the scanty results of exploration, we may construct the following conception of life in Canaan two hundred years before the Hebrew conquest.

The people dwelt almost exclusively in towns on account of the insecurity of the open country. The larger places were surrounded with battlemented walls and were shut in with gates of bronze. These gates were defended by towers placed on both sides, and frequently were double and even treble, so that an enemy was obliged to storm them successively before he could effect an entrance. These strongholds the Egyptians found difficult to take, except by starving their garrisons into submission. So powerfully did they impress the Hebrews, when two centuries later they entered Canaan, that their walls seemed to reach up to heaven.

The smaller towns contented themselves with migdols, or watchtowers, from which sentries kept an outlook over the surrounding country, and gave warning of the approach of an enemy by blowing trumpets. Unwalled towns depended upon walled cities in their neighborhood; and in times of great danger their inhabitants took refuge in these cities. A typical Canaanitish town of this age has been disclosed by the excavations of Dr. Bliss at Tell el-Hesy, the site probably of the biblical

Lachish.<sup>\*</sup> In the fourth layer of this mound were discovered a cuneiform tablet and other objects belonging to the same period as the Amarna letters. The houses and the walls of this city were built of bricks of unbaked clay mixed with chopped straw. Dwellings with eight or more large rooms on the ground floor were discovered, but these unfortunately had all been plundered



VIEW OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-HESY.

by an ancient conqueror, so that, except the tablet just mentioned, they yielded little of archæological interest.

The Egyptian monuments are concerned so exclusively with warlike exploits that, while they have much to tell us about the fortifications and the armament of the Asiatics, they have little to say about their domestic life. Some information, however, is gained by a study of Canaanitish loan-words. A number of names of vessels (particularly metal vessels), of cooking utensils, and of certain kinds of food were borrowed by the Egyptians. The oven seems to have been a Canaanitish invention, since its name, as well as those of products of the baker's art, was adopted unchanged into Egyptian. In the Annals of Thothmes we find mention of chairs, footstools, tables, dishes, mixing-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> BLISS, A Mound of Many Cities.

bowls for wine, goblets, knives of copper, vases, jars, caldrons, and utensils of all sorts. These indicate that a considerable degree of comfort and even of luxury was to be found in houses of the aristocracy.

The dress of the Canaanites is frequently depicted. Fashions had changed considerably since the time represented by the pictures of the thirty-seven 'Aamu on the tomb of Khnumhotep. Asiatics of this period wore a tunic open in front, with short sleeves that covered both shoulders. Wealthier people wore over it a mantle made of two pieces of cloth wrapped around the body in a spiral manner so as to form three or four flounces, and then brought up over the shoulders in a kind of cape that hung down over both arms. These mantles were made of wool, woven with bright colors in ornamental patterns, and were heavily trimmed with tassels and fringes. There was no marked difference between the costumes of the men and of the women, at least none that can be recognized in the Egyptian pictures. Men wore their hair cut off abruptly at the nape of the neck. They brushed it over their foreheads, and tied it behind their ears with a white band in such a way as to make it stand out in a bunch. Sometimes it was brought down from the center of the crown and was cut off around the edges, giving it the appearance of a large straw hat placed upon the top of the head. They wore pointed beards, but they are never represented with mustaches. This peculiarity, however, may be due to the taste of the Egyptian artists. Women wore their hair in two braids which fell down in front on either side of the face. The head was sometimes tied up in a bright-colored cloth, but the use of a turban does not seem to have been as common either among men or women as it was at a later time. Shoes appear to have been worn by the upper classes, although there is some doubt whether the monuments do not depict anklets worn about the leg at the point where the shoe-top would come. Arm-rings were affected by both men and women. The Annals mention also earrings of copper engraved with figures of horses, bracelets, necklaces, and staves of office.

The chief occupation of the Canaanites was agriculture.

This is shown, not only by the statements of the inscriptions and of the Amarna letters, but also by the fact that the earliest remains in Palestine are cisterns, wine-vats, and oil-presses. The Annals make frequent mention of harvests that the king cut in the fields of the enemy, and also enumerate grain as part of the plunder taken from captured towns. The smaller places paid their tribute chiefly in agricultural products. The Amarna letters speak of supplying grain to the king's troops, and of sending it by land or by water to Egypt. Both wheat and barley were raised, but wheat seems to have been more abundant. In certain parts of the country, where the baking was famous, the Pharaoh received his tribute in loaves of bread.

Olive oil must have been one of the chief products of the land. From north Syria alone Thothmes took 953 jars in one year. Judging from the Egyptian names, a number of varieties were produced. It was demanded as part of the annual tribute, and the princes of the Amarna letters furnished it both for Pharaoh and for his garrisons. Wine was produced in all parts of the land. In one campaign Thothmes received from south Syria 1,405 jars. The town of Anaugasa sent him as tribute 106 jars. The wine of Phœnicia was the most highly esteemed. Curiously enough, wine is not mentioned in the Amarna letters, but in its stead the Syrian princes furnish the beverage known in the Old Testament as "strong drink." The Annals speak of fruit of all kinds, but they do not specify the names of any except dates. Honey, both wild and cultivated, was a staple product. A large number of spices are mentioned, but the names of most cannot be translated, and it is doubtful whether all were produced in Palestine. Many were probably imported from Arabia.

Although the Canaanites had long ago abandoned nomadic life, they continued to breed cattle as one of their most important industries. From Palestine Thothmes took in his first campaign 1,929 bulls. From central Syria he took in one expedition 5,703 sheep, and in another expedition 20,500 sheep. In one campaign he obtained from central Syria 4,622 goats, from Phœnicia 3,336, and from north Syria 5,323. Asses also were raised, and were the animals commonly used for transportation

and for riding. Horses had been introduced by the Hyksos, and had already been employed in war with the Egyptians. They were never ridden, but were used only to drag chariots. Thothmes captured many of these in his campaigns, and they formed part of his regular tribute. In the Amarna letters they are seldom said to have been sent to Egypt; but, instead of this, request is constantly made for them. It seems as if, in consequence of protracted war, they had become scarce in Syria.

The writers of the Amarna letters call their enemies "dogs," and profess themselves the "dogs" of their master, the king of Egypt. These allusions show that the dog was not regarded as a domestic animal, as among the Egyptians, Assyrians, and the later European nations; but that, like his modern descendant in Syria, he was an outcast and lived wild in the streets.

The country was covered with great forests, that yielded a variety of useful woods. Especially prized were the cedars of Mount Lebanon and of Mount Amanus. These were felled by the Amorites and by the Phœnicians, and were transported by sea to Egypt, and to other ports. The Annals give the names of a number of precious woods, but unfortunately these cannot be translated with certainty. Some yielded a sweet odor when burned, and were prized for the preparation of incense.

The forests were the haunts of antelopes, lions, bears, and various kinds of wild fowl. Elephants were abundant throughout northern Syria, and were hunted for the sake of their tusks and hides.

The monuments give us frequent representations of the textile fabrics of Syria, and show that the art of weaving had been brought to a high degree of perfection. The patterns copied were originally Babylonian, but they had developed independently. The "goodly Babylonish garment," mentioned in Josh. 7:21 as found in the spoil of Jericho, was probably not an imported garment, but one made in Canaan after a Babylonian design. Wood-working was a specialty of the Canaanites. Their chairs, tables, and ornamental carvings were highly prized by the Egyptians. The making of brick was also understood by them, and in the manufacture and decoration of pottery they had attained great skill. So superior were their household utensils

that the Egyptians did not disdain to carry them back from their campaigns.

The art of dressing and setting stones was well known. In the neighborhood of Mount Lebanon were extensive quarries, which from the most ancient times furnished building material for the Babylonian monarchs. A number of precious and semi-precious stones were known. Among these are mentioned alabaster, lapis-lazuli, malachite, green felspar, and a variety of other minerals, the exact meaning of whose names cannot be determined. The polishing and engraving of gems was the secret of a guild of skilled artisans.

Gold and silver were worked into many useful and ornamental articles. In the tribute lists we find mention of gold and silver dishes, silver cups, vases, jugs, bracelets, earrings, nose-rings, and necklaces. Copper was found, not only in the peninsula of Sinai, but also in early times in Mount Lebanon and Mount Hermon. Remains of ancient mines have been discovered in these regions, and later historians bear testimony to their productiveness. In one of the inscriptions of Sargon II. Ba'ali-Tsapuna (that is, Hebrew, Baal-Zephon), a mountain of northern Syria, is spoken of as the "great copper mountain," and in the book of Deuteronomy the promise is made to the Israelites that out of the hills of Canaan they shall dig copper. It is not surprising, therefore, that this metal formed a considerable part of the tribute received by the Egyptians. It was furnished by the district of Nukhashshi in northeastern Syria, by Anaugasa and other Phænician cities; by north Syria, middle Syria, and even by cities of Palestine. The working of copper into vessels and implements formed an important industry. The metal was used partly in its natural state and partly alloyed with tin brought by Phœnician vessels from the shores of the Black Sea, and possibly even from Cornwall. When thus alloyed it became hard enough to be made into weapons and edged tools. We find mention of vessels and vases of bronze and of copper, and of armor and weapons of every description. The representations of these articles on the monuments show that in their manufacture great artistic skill had been attained.

[To be completed.]

### THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF PAUL.

VI. THE CHRISTIAN FRATERNITY.

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SECTION I. THE FIRST CHRISTIAN FRATERNITIES DOMINATED BY JEWISH CONCEPTIONS.

Among all the striking phenomena that accompanied the evolution of the Roman empire, none is more marked than the migration of different cults. Generally speaking, these cults were national or ethnic, and their diffusion was the natural outcome of the new commercial conditions that led to a widespread immigration of oriental peoples into the western parts of the empire. With the Egyptian immigration went the worship of Serapis, Isis, and Osiris; with the Phrygian, that of Sabizius (Bacchus) and Cybele; with the Persian, that of Mithras with its fascinating mysteries. By degrees these oriental faiths spread over the entire empire, and, as inscriptions testify, had their temples and devotees from the Tigris to the Atlantic and from the Rhine to the African desert. Their success was due. not merely to their novelty, but to their undoubted moral and religious superiority to classical heathenism. The culture of the period had long since outgrown mythology, and readily welcomed the more or less absolute monotheism which was the common property of the invading cults. Quite as potent in their spread, also, was their insistence upon morality as inseparable from religion. Sin and repentance, punishment and forgiveness, were integral parts of all these oriental cults, and those who would accept them and be initiated into their mysteries were subjected to rigorous probation and highly dramatic initiatory rites. The ethical neutrality of the Roman and Greek mythologies could not for a moment survive before the moral passion, however distorted, of men who would submit to the bloody baptism of

the taurobolium. If one recalls that in addition these new cults regarded the individual as something more than a member of a nation, and made immortality, with its rewards and punishments, central in all their teaching, their success is easily understood.

It was characteristic of these religions that their followers should form communities. The vocabulary that is being discovered by the study of papyri is rich in words dealing with such groups of co-religionists. Their members were "brothers" ( $\mathring{a}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\circ i$ ); each group was a "community" ( $\kappao\iota\nu\delta\nu$ ) or "fraternity" ( $\mathring{a}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi ia$ ). They had their mysteries, their passwords, their priests and leaders. Between scattered fraternities there sprang up correspondence, bits of which have survived, while their members were always certain of a hospitable reception from their brethren in whatever city they might chance to arrive as travelers or pilgrims.

The Jewish dispersion was, therefore, by no means unique in an age of interpenetrating peoples and religions. Possibly it was the most widespread,2 but from some of the evidence at our disposal it would seem as if it were by no means the most prosperous or possessed of the greatest contemporary influence. In Græco-Roman society the emigrant Jew, though exceptionally favored by the empire, was an object of no small hatred and derision.3 His unwillingness to eat food highly prized by heathen epicures, his refusal to work upon the sabbath, his apparent readiness to traffic in miracles, his religious pride, all served to remove him from the easy-going toleration of the current religious eclecticism. Yet Judaism was by no means without its influence upon the society into which it had penetrated. The same readiness to accept a monotheistic religion promising forgiveness of sin and a blessed immortality which made the non-Jewish oriental cults popular throughout the empire, led many persons, and that too by no means exclusively from the unedu-

See, for instance, DEISSMANN, Bible Studies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Yet one must make large allowance for exaggeration in the words of Josephus, Against Apion, ii, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See, for instance, HORACE, Satires, 1:4, 142 f.; PERSIUS, Satires, 5:178-84; JUVENAL, Satires, 3:12-16; 14:96-106.

cated and lower classes, to become followers of Moses. In addition to such proselytes, there were many gentiles over whom Judaism exercised a greater or less influence. The Judaism of the Dispersion was less rigorous than that of Palestine, and was ready to tolerate, if not to encourage, those who would accept its teachings as expressing a new religious philosophy, while refusing to become completely identified with it as a cult. Thus around the "community" or "synagogue" of the Jewish colony in the various cities there sprang up two groups of non-Jewish converts: the proselytes and "those who feared God" and observed the general Mosaic regulations for keeping the sabbath and maintaining ceremonial purity.

Nor was the religious influence of Judaism restricted to these limits. Even if one be indisposed to accept seriously the belief of some of the Jewish writers that Plato drew his teachings from Moses, there can be no doubt that the strong morality and uncompromising monotheism of pharisaism was felt throughout the Græco-Roman world quite outside the limits of those who were even loosely connected with the synagogue. Otherwise it would be hard to understand the literary warfare, offensive and defensive, carried on by Josephus and other Jewish apologists against heathen opponents, and quite impossible to give proper credit to the literary output of Philo and the Alexandrines. Even more perplexing would be the observance of the sabbath in different parts of the empire by gentiles presumably not connected with the synagogue.<sup>5</sup>

It is this widespread influence of Judaism that explains in

4 They are termed φοβούμενοι τον θεόν in Acts 10:2, 22; 13:16, 26; σεβόμενοι τον θεόν in Acts 13:43; 16:14; 18:7; Josephus, Ant., xiv, 7:2; or briefly σεβόμενοι as in Acts 13:50; 17:4, 17. The expression of Acts 13:43, σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι, is unique and cannot be said to vitiate the above interpretation. See for full treatment (including discussion of parallel expressions of the inscriptions) Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes (3d ed.), Vol. III, pp. 122 f., esp. n. 66, and his essay, "Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaft der σεβόμενοι τον θεόν ύψιστον ebendaselbst," in Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie, 1897, pp. 200–225; Ramsay, Expositor, 1896, pp. 200 f.

<sup>5</sup> See Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes (3d ed.), Vol. III, p. 116, n. 45. In general see Bertholet, Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden; Friedländer, Das Judenthum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt.

large part the rapid growth of Christianity during the apostolic period. When brought face to face with a heathenism unaffected by Jewish thought, the promise of an acquittal at a coming world-judgment, the story of a risen Jesus who was the firstfruits of all such followers of his who should die before the establishment of a glorious but un-political kingdom, made but little impression.6 To appreciate Jesus as Christ it was first necessary to have some knowledge of what the Christ should be, and this, at least in the Dispersion, could be gained only through a knowledge of pharisaic messianism. As Acts and the Pauline literature make clear, the original members of the Christian communities were almost exclusively Jews, or gentiles who had either come under the influence of the Judaism of the synagogue or through the diffused influence of Jewish thought had a predisposition to the messianic program. The first great problem faced by the new faith was its relation to Judaism as a whole, notably to the observance of the Thorah; the second was that of adjusting a faith in Jesus as the Christ soon to establish his kingdom, with the various non-Jewish or but semi-Jewish religious conceptions that obtained in Asia Minor and those cities of Europe in which oriental mysteries and cults had begun to regulate religious philosophy. This difference of apologetic and exposition is plainly seen by a comparison of Paul's letters to the Galatians and the Ephesians, but it is even more pronounced when Revelation is compared with the prologue of the fourth gospel. Patristic theology shows similar contrasts, but throughout its earlier phases its apologetic consists largely of arguments showing that Jesus as Christ fulfils the prophecies of the Hebrew Scriptures. It was only when Christianity passed into the hands of professional philosophers and men of their spirit that its Jewish relations and heritage were neglected and replaced by the generalizing methods of the schools.

The importance of the preparatory rôle played in apostolic Christianity by pharisaic Judaism is evidenced by what the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Compare the reception of Paul's preaching by Athenians, Acts, chap. 17. It is hard to see why one should be forced to regard this speech as untrue to Paul's thought. Even if one were to rewrite history on a priori methods, what other kind of speech would the uneven spread of messianic Judaism make probable?

author of the letter to the Hebrews calls "the matter of the beginning of the Christ," or "the foundation," viz.: repentance from dead works and faith upon God, the teaching concerning baptism and the laying on of hands, the resurrection from the dead and the age-judgment. Quite as plainly does it appear in all the references in Acts and the Pauline literature to the initial acts of those who formed the new communities. All such had abandoned evil courses to wait for the coming of God's Son and his kingdom.8 The faith that introduced the convert into the new relationship with God was thus easily formulated; it was the acceptance of Jesus as the one who should do that expected of the Christ by Judaism, in so far as this expectation was not modified by the actual experiences of Jesus. In a word, the Christian churches were composed of those who sought justification acquittal in the approaching messianic judgment - by faith. And this is no more true of Pauline churches than of the church at Jerusalem. Its members also sought "salvation" by repentance and the acceptance of Jesus as the Christ who would admit them into his kingdom.9

It is not difficult, therefore, to realize the character of the first Christian communities. They were composed of those who believed in the necessity of being acquitted in the coming judgment, who accepted Jesus as the future founder of the coming kingdom, who attempted to embody in daily life the principles believed to dominate that kingdom, who had received new spiritual experiences, and who had joined themselves together into little communities in which the new spiritual gifts and capacities might better express themselves, the character of membership

<sup>7</sup> Heb. 6 : 1, τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In particular see I Thess. 1:10; 2:20; 3:13; Phil. 1:6, 10; Acts 17:7; Rom. 8:23-25; I Cor. 1:8; 3:13; 6:9, 10; 15:23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Here again the demands of the historical process give new credibility to Acts. The early chapters of the book in the main express precisely what would be expected of persons under the influence of messianism. Whatever allowance one may make for redaction, it is impossible for one acquainted with Judaism to accept the dictum that a belief in justification by faith is an unfailing evidence of Pauline influence. If faith in Jesus did not help one past the coming judgment, for what conceivable reason should a Jew have accepted him as Christ?

in which was symbolized in the simple cult of baptism and a common meal.

SECTION II. THE NEW SPIRITUAL LIFE THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN THE CHRISTIAN FRATERNITY.

In a way the church in the Pauline teaching is an equivalent of the non-eschatological conception of the kingdom of God held by Jesus, although this equivalence is not formal or recognized by the apostle. Historically the church of the centuries is the perpetuation of that little band of disciples gathered by Jesus in Galilee and regarded by him as the incipient kingdom, the yeast of the new humanity. This group of disciples must have carried over—actully did carry over—into their new brotherhood the ethical and religious, as well as the eschatological, teaching of their Master. They endeavored to live in his spiritual companionship as they had lived in his bodily presence, and their very meals were made sacred by the memory of a glorified Master and the thought of his unity with themselves.

Yet Jesus himself cannot be said to have originated the term "church." The Greek Old Testament had long before given it currency as the one word that represented the Hebrew people in its mingled aspects of nation and worshiping congregation. After the rise of scribism the word became a part of the vocabulary of Judaism. Evidently its content was very vague. In some general Jewish sense of "community" must Jesus have used the word, if, indeed, it ever passed his lips. He had, in fact, very little use for it. His group of disciples were not a congregation to be removed from the world; they were inceptively a new humanity. It is doubtless the fact that Jesus did not use any special word for his band of disciples except the "kingdom of God" that accounts for its absence in the vocabulary of the earliest Christian community. So completely were the apostles possessed of the eschatological conception of the kingdom as never to use it to denote their community, and for a short time the new movement seems to have lacked any recognized name. The disciples were first called Christians at Antioch; 10

<sup>10</sup> Acts 11:26.

at Jerusalem, during the first months of the new movement's life, they were not spoken of as a congregation, but, if any word was used except "they," is they were styled "brethren,"12 "they that believed,"13 "the company,"14 "the disciples," 15 as "those of the Way." 16 Soon, however, the need of some self-designation made itself felt, and it was but natural that ἐκκλησία should have suggested itself. At all events the word appeared, though innocent of its later content. The Christian brothers still thought of themselves as a religious community, though not as one distinct from Judaism. They still worshiped in the temple, still attended synagogues, still kept the law. Anything like a distinctive organization, except for purposes of charity, was at first not needed. The Christians were Jews who had added to their Judaism belief that Jesus was the Christ, and saw in that fact no reason for abandoning, in any particular, their old life. Their common meals, their sharing of property with the poor, their devotion to the "apostles" teaching," were akin to similar customs to be found in all the "fraternities" of the time.

The rise of this undifferentiated group into a social institution distinct from Judaism can be accounted for only by the success of Christianity in cities outside of Palestine. The church, like Pauline Christianity, was the product of missions. As long as they were hemmed in by Jewish environment, the "brethren" from the point of view of Judaism were but sectarian. Out in the great Græco-Roman world they were forced into a process of social evolution, and there they were Christians. When, as always, the synagogue in which some apostle had first preached was closed to his converts, it was but natural that they should meet in some house or public lecture hall for the social worship and instruction. There again they adopted Jesus' word and were brothers. As the brotherhood in Jerusalem resembled in some particulars Jewish societies, so elsewhere it was superficially not unlike the fraternities among the lower classes of the Roman empire which met regularly for various purposes, notably for the

11 Acts 1:23, 26; 2:1, 4.

13 Acts 12:44.

15 Acts 16:1.

12 Acts 1:15.

14 Acts 4:23.

16 Acts 9:2.

maintenance of a burial fund. Each fraternity of this sort would have had a fraternal meal, and some more or less rudimentary initiation. The Christians had this memorial meal and their initiatory baptism. But the Christian brotherhood was vastly different from those it superficially resembled. Although later it apparently found legal protection as a burial society, during its first years it was exclusively a religious fraternity composed of men and women who had accepted Jesus as the Christ, and who met to recall his death and his promises of speedy return. Their meetings, if one may judge from the words of Paul, Pliny, and even of Justin Martyr, were not mere banquets, but for religious purposes. Nor were the churches rigidly organized. Once gathered, the brothers seem to have been under no ritualistic bonds, but each was at liberty to express the new life of the spirit according "as God had given to each man a measure of faith." Nothing could have been more informal—one singing, another exhorting, another prophesying, another interpreting the otherwise unintelligible utterances of a brother "with a tongue." Indeed, there was even danger that such meetings should become a babel, and Paul never showed clearer administrative sagacity than when he advised that all religious gatherings should be carried on decently and in order.17

It would be a serious mistake, however, to think of the Christian fraternity, or ἐκκλησία, as having no more organic unity than a neighborhood prayer-meeting. As an actual group of men and women it antedated its assembling. In this it more closely resembled the communities of the Jewish and Syrian dispersion than the burial fraternity. The community existed even when dispersed, and its members were always to live as the followers of their Christ, the fellow-heirs of his glory.

By origin, therefore, social, it was inevitable that social evolution should have soon begun within a church. As the fraternity grew, the need of officers was felt, and, under the guidance of the apostles, the fraternity undertook to supply its need. With the exception of the shadowy attempt to maintain the number of the Twelve by the choice by lot of Matthias, in the entire

<sup>17</sup> See this discussion in I Cor. 14:26-40.

differentiation of the officials of the different fraternities there was no appeal to any directions of Jesus. To make such an appeal to authority would have been contrary to the spirit of Paul, but not to that of the Jerusalem church, and it is therefore safe to say that Jesus had left no directions for church polity. The little congregations were free to organize as fast and as far and in such ways as they saw fit. This absence of specific directions from Jesus accounts for the course taken by the organization of the various Christian groups. In the church at Jerusalem, dissatisfaction with the apostles' administration of charity funds led first of all to the choice of seven men whose duty it became to attend to such matters. They, however, like the apostles, soon preferred preaching to charity work, and a few years after their appointment we find the "congregations" of the Christians organized like the synagogue "congregations" of the Jews, with an executive committee known as the "elders." In other words, left by Jesus without any specific directions for organization, the early Christians followed the natural course, and turned to the synagogue as a model. The "elder" was the characteristic officer of the East, whether one looks to Egypt 18 or Judea; but in Judea especially was he an official with distinct administrative functions. Nothing was easier, therefore, than for the Iewish Christian fraternities to appoint their elders, and to model the order of service in their meetings after that of the synagogue. Among the gentile Christians the reasons for the appearance of elders is not far to seek. In most Græco-Roman cities the governing body was known by some word implying seniority, and similar terms were applied to teachers of philosophies and probably to the heads of various heathen fraternities. If we add that the gentile churches were commonly founded and organized by Jews, it is not difficult to see that among them also the body of elders would be the administrative organ most to be expected.

Difficult as it is to trace church organization in the later New Testament books, we can still see that by the time the letter to Philippi was written it had evidently proceeded some distance

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Cf. Hatch, Organization of the Early Christian Churches, pp. 55 f.

toward its later form, for we find bishops and deacons. In the pastoral epistles, although new officials are not clearly named, there is evidence of marked advance in the precision with which the duties of the various officials are described.

Just what functions the elders or bishops performed is apparent from a number of statements in the New Testament. They had the general superintendence, they were the  $\dot{\eta}\gamma o\dot{\nu}\mu\epsilon\nu o\iota$  of the churches; in the pastoral epistles at least they were teachers; but most of all were they the pastors of the flocks God had intrusted to their care. Such a union of responsibilities made toward officialism, and even in an apostolic father like Clement the presbyter and bishops are of recognized rank, and to reduce them to the plane of the ordinary church member warranted serious expostulation.

But the elders were but one class of officers in the early church. Then as always there was a constant tendency toward a division of labor along the same lines as later marked the cleavage between the clergy and the laity, the secular clergy and the monks. As the apostles had preferred the ministry of the word to the ministry of tables, and as Philip the administrator of charity became Philip the evangelist, so the elders seem to have gradually delegated their charity work largely to deacons. But they were not the only persons who ministered to the churches in spiritual things. Alongside of the executive committee of the Christian congregation were many men—and some women —whose duty it was to prophesy, to teach, to catechize, and to provide in various ways for the religious life of the community. It is impossible to say when such classes of workers first appeared, but doubtless almost from the start, for in Paul's letters to the Corinthians we find them catalogued at length. Thus clearly was Christianity from the start constructively social.

Such an evolution of an organization by the differentiation of officers is certainly a common enough phenomenon, and might very well be dismissed thus summarily, were it not for the interpretation given it by Paul. He sees in it all something more than mere utilitarianism. It is all the work of the Spirit, in other words, of the new life of the individual believers. The

unification of believers in any city was not the only expression of the Christian life; besides it there was the distribution of γαρίσματα. By one classification 19 there were accordingly apostles, prophets, teachers, miracle-workers, healers, helpers, administrators, those who spoke with tongues; by another 20 and simpler, apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers. This distribution of gifts, however, Paul insists was economic, intended, not for the happiness of those who possess them, but for the building up of the church. He even carries his thought farther, and not only sees that all the χαρίσματα — of wisdom, knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, working of miracles, prophecy, discerning of spirits, tongues and interpretation of tongues 21 — the work of "the one and the same Spirit," are given for "ministration," but also declares that apart from love they are worthless. Thus with him, as with Jesus, the final test of life is not its ability to receive, but to confer, benefits. It is no mere happy coincidence that he is represented in his words to the Ephesian elders as using an otherwise lost saying of the Master: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." 22

It is from the point of view of the church as a corporate expression of the regenerate life that we can best appreciate the further teaching of Paul concerning the church as-with excuses to the sociologists - an organism, or, to use his own word, body. In this conception there is to be seen something like a development in the Pauline thought. In the Roman letter, while he is especially swayed by his messianic predilections, he insists mostly upon the individual believer's functions, not so much as a member of a social group as one who is presently to be granted the completion of his hopes in the resurrection of the body and the entrance into the heavenly kingdom. Yet even there is to be seen in a summary form the conception of the church as the body of Christ. "As we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we, who are many, are one body in Christ and severally members one of another." 23 This analogy just before he

<sup>19</sup> I Cor. 12:28.

<sup>21</sup> I Cor. 12:7-11.

<sup>23</sup> Rom. 12:4, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Eph. 4:11.

<sup>22</sup> Acts 20:35.

had elaborated most strikingly in his letter to the Corinthians.24 The Christian community, he says, is the body of Christ—i. e., that within which the Spirit of Christ dwells; but a body is a unity only in the sense that it is a combination of members, each of which performs its own and indispensable functions. So is it with the individual in the church: his function, be it apparently never so humble, is legitimate, and therefore the individual himself is needed for the efficiency of the body of which he is a member. The very bread and wine of the memorial meal, he reminds them, are symbols, or rather the means of maintaining the common life of individuals with their Lord.25 This may appear culpable high-churchism on the part of the apostle, but he has something more advanced to teach. This union with Christ through the church is no mere rhetorical matter; it is as real as the living of a man with a prostitute.26 Of isolated Christians, of unattached Christians, of Christians who would willingly give up their fellowship - KOLνωνία — with their brethren, Paul could not conceive. To cast a member forth from the body of Christ was to turn him over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh.27 Later, unless we quite mistake Paul's views, in the letters of the imprisonment, this thought became even more prominent. As the messianic kingdom was the mediating concept by the aid of which Paul arrived at his conception of the atonement of Christ, so the church became almost exclusively the mediating concept by which he arrived at his conception of the relation of the individual Christian and his Christ as a matter of actual life.

If this be the thought in the more messianic epistles, one is justified in expecting that it will be all the more prominent when the apostle writes under the influence of Judaic-Grecian philosophy. Nor will such expectations be disappointed. The transition has been made almost unconsciously from the consideration of the separate churches scattered over the empire, each with its own peculiar  $\chi a \rho l \sigma \mu a \tau a$ , to the genuinely Greek conception of the generic church involved in the various local bodies. The Church has supplanted the churches. But the figure—if one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> I Cor. 12:12-27. <sup>25</sup> I Cor. 10:15-17. <sup>26</sup> I Cor. 6:15. <sup>27</sup> I Cor. 5:5.

may, indeed, call it a figure—of the organism is also carried to its inevitable completion. As the individual Christians constitute the body of the local church, so now they form the Church universal, and Christ is now head, not of the individual man, as in I Cor. 3: I, but of his body, the Church.28 From this the step was easy to the thought of the church as essential to the Christ. It was his "fulness." Yet still the economic idea is maintained. The church shares in the life of the Christ only that it may more perfectly carry on his work. And this work, it will be recalled, was itself organized, different individuals performing the various functions allotted them by the Spirit. Thus Christ works through the social unity resulting from Christian life in different individuals. It is this thought that is expressed in perhaps the boldest expression of the thought of the social organism ever given by any writer—the prayer of Paul for the churches to whom the Ephesian epistle was written. He prays that they may "grow up in all things into him who is the head, even Christ, from whom all the body, fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working, in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love."29

SECTION III. YET THE CHURCH WAS NOT INTENDED FOR "SOCIAL SERVICE."

A somewhat extraordinary fact, however, here comes into light. This social organism, composed of regenerate men each performing his special function under the direction of the head, is not human society as a whole, but the church, a community within society. The relations of the church to society at large is one of election for salvation. The world at large is evil. It has lost its God,<sup>30</sup> and in consequence is full of vices.<sup>31</sup> The nearest approach Paul makes to a general social philosophy, however, is here. The fact of sin leads him away from individualism to a generic human solidarity. Humanity as a unit sinned in Adam; and in Adam all died. Characteristically, too, Paul makes sin the socialized result of the prostitution of the religious nature. The

<sup>28</sup> Eph. 5:23. 29 Eph. 4:15, 16. 30 Eph. 2:12. 31 Rom. 1:19-23, 24-32.

heathen world entered upon the hideous conditions portrayed in the opening chapter of the letter to the Romans by turning from a knowable God to idols. Every other sort of prostitution followed. To reverse this condition of affairs, to reinstate the religious nature to its normal position, is the work of Christ. But despite certain of his expressions that sound contradictory, Paul teaches that the new society formed by Christ is not composed of all men and is not created en masse. It grows, as has already appeared, through individuals as such assuming through faith in Jesus the proper relation with God  $(\kappa a \tau a \lambda \lambda a \gamma \eta)$  and, in obedience to the new life, joining one another in a social group in which the new life in Christ finds its expression.

Such a philosophy immediately carries a modern thinker across to the hope of a gradual transformation of society by this new and evidently dynamic group. And this, it will be recalled, is the teaching of Jesus concerning the kingdom of God. But apostolic Christianity never took the step. The church was not conceived of as a source of social transformation. In the New Testament literature one will look in vain for a single injunction to convert the world, or to save the world. Individuals were to be saved from the world; but the world itself was lost.

The reasons for this surprising fact do not lie in any indifference of the early Christians to others. Where could one find more devoted servants of their time than the humble men who faced all the perils of their time, rejoicing in opposition, nay, death itself, if only Christ were preached? Or where more noble directions to do good to all men? Or where can we find a more passionate lament than that of Paul over the indifference of the Jews to his gospel? He is ready even to be accursed for their sakes, and, what is more, out of his sorrow and his belief in the divine absolution, constructs a prophecy, not yet fulfilled, that at last, moved with envy at the sight of gentiles enjoying the blessings properly their own, the Jews as a people will repent and join the Christian community. Indeed, he is even ready to postpone the second coming of Christ until this glorious consummation is attained.<sup>33</sup>

No, the reasons are quite other. In the first place, the division of labor, so to speak, within the church was wholly dependent upon the Spirit. If he gave some person the gift of apostleship or of evangelization, such a one attempted, not to reform society, but to induce individuals to accept Jesus as the Christ and join the church. The entire process, therefore, was neither of man's choosing nor centrifugal. A man might be as passionately devoted as Paul to the preaching of the gospel, and yet be of almost no significance as an influence upon the society of the empire at large; while, on the other hand, the church had been redeemed from a present evil age, and it was to have as little as possible to do with that age.

The second, and far more important, ground for the indifference of apostolic Christianity to the establishment of a Christian civilization that would replace the heathen, lay in its conception of an eschatological kingdom. It believed implicitly and explicitly that civilization, as it existed in the empire, had not long to survive. Across the entire horizon of the future they saw the messianic judgment and the beginning of a new age in which men were to live only in the bodies of the resurrection. So far from planning for posterity, they did not believe there was to be any posterity. The Lord was to return shortly,34 even during the lifetime of their own generation; 35 believers if dead were to be raised, if alive were to be changed in the twinkling of an eye; the judgment was to be set, the kingdom established, the wicked destroyed. The time was short, and ever growing shorter.36 Maran atha. The end of all things was at hand.37 The judge stood before the doors.38 Why, then, plan social revolutions, or even social ameliorations? The Christian's wrestling was not with flesh and blood, but with rank upon rank of angels, the powers of the air.39 It was better to endure patiently the days of waiting, for in the day that was to come all earthly differences would be effaced.

<sup>34</sup> Rom. 13: 11, 12; 16:20; 1 Cor. 1:29; Phil. 4:5.

<sup>35 1</sup> Thess. 4:15-17; 5:1, 23, 24; 2 Thess. 1:7; Rom. 13:11, 12; 1 Cor. 1:7, 8; 7:29; 11:26; 15:51.

<sup>36</sup> Rom. 13:11, 12; 1 Cor. 16:22. 37 1 Peter 4:7. 38 James 5:9. 39 Eph. 6:12.

The perception of the hopelessness of attempting to convert all individuals before this awful day of Jehovah awoke not only thankfulness that there were those who were already saved as brands from the burning, but profound sorrow, amounting in some cases to pessimism. "All that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the vainglory of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away and the lust thereof,"40 says the author of I John, and a little later,42 "we know that the whole world lieth in the evil one." The wild joy over the destruction of sinners that runs through the Apocalypse of John is but the natural outcome of the recognition of an inherent hostility between the new groups of God's elect and the wicked, persecuting empire in the midst of which they lived. And long after, when the delay of the coming of Jesus was beginning to cause doubt and scorn, the unknown person who wrote in the name of Peter 42 could hold to the Enochian belief that the present heavens and earth had survived the Noachian flood, stored with fire reserved against the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men.

Yet, again, the writers of the apostolic age were unable to bring their hopes born of their new life quite into subjection to this narrowing eschatology. At least Paul could not. The salvation to which his passionate heart looked was something too great to be limited to the few men of lowly calling he found at Corinth and the other cities he had evangelized. The rulers of this age might pass away unsaved, but in moments when his heart rather than his logic spoke, he could see all creation groaning and travailing together in pain, waiting for the adoption; 43 he could see all creation brought into subjection to Jesus Christ, every knee bowing at his great name.44 Just how he would co-ordinate these hopes with his general teachings it is impossible at this distance to say. Perhaps, as he was a very great man, he never would try to co-ordinate them. At any rate, there they are, a tribute not only to a masterly imagination, but to the dynamic of the new life whose social capacities, because

<sup>40</sup> I John 2: 16, 17.

<sup>42 2</sup> Peter 3:7.

<sup>44</sup> Phil. 2: 10.

<sup>41</sup> I John 5:19.

<sup>43</sup> Rom. 8:22.

of his own historical limitations, he could not fully appreciate. Yet, with him as with Jesus, Christian life must be social in order to be true to itself. Strip from his teaching its enswathing eschatology, and we have the Christianity of Jesus. This body of Christ, what is it, if one ceases to believe it but a temporary thing, but the beginning of a redeemed humanity? And this new life that is drawn from the Spirit, what is it but the eternal life of which Jesus speaks, which will refuse to look merely to the rescue of individuals from an evil age, and as soon as it discovers that its hope for the immediate return of the Christ is a disappointment will go out to the rescue of institutions and the conquest of the empire itself?

Christian civilization was the inevitable result of the new life taught by Jesus, experienced by individual Christians, organized by the Christian communities, and interpreted by Paul in the vocabulary and concepts of pharisaism. The interpretation was transitory; the divinely imparted life, eternal. He who would see the heart of Paulinism must find it in this work of the Spirit in the lives of those who believed Jesus to be the revelation of God and accepted his teachings as the everlasting principles of ethical and religious living. With Paul, as with his Master, the essentials of Christianity lie in personality, and not in formula.

## CONSTRUCTIVE STUDIES IN THE LITERATURE OF WORSHIP IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER, The University of Chicago.

IV. THE HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF THE PRIESTLY SCHOOL.

II. THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

I Chron. 1:1; cf. Gen. 1:1.

I Chron. 1: 1-27.

1 Chron. 1:28-

§ 219. The Scope of the History in Chronicles.—Observe that the narrative in Chronicles (1) begins, like that in P, with the very beginning of the human race; (2) runs rapidly over the early history of mankind in general; (3) takes up that of the Hebrew people, beginning with Abraham and hastening on to the death of Saul; while (4) with the accession of David it treats the history more elaborately, and covers the period from David to the exile in the remainder of the work. Observe further that, as compared with the prophetic history in Judges, Samuel, and Kings, (1) while beginning at an earlier point in history, it gives very much less consideration to the pre-Davidic period; (2) it leaves the history of the Northern Kingdom almost entirely out of account; and (3) both stop with the exile, the end of Israel's national life.

Chron. 36:22 f.; cf. 2 Kings 25:27 ff.

Consider, now, the purpose of the compiler (1) as gathered from the scope of his work; (2) as gathered from a comparison with Judges, Samuel, and Kings; (3) as gathered from the comparative fulness of treatment of different parts.

§ 220. The Date of the Books of Chronicles.—Considering the relationship and significance of old materials in the book, side by side with materials which indicate a comparatively late date for the origin of the book as a whole, note (1) that the history extends to the "first year of Cyrus, king of Persia;" (2) that the common titles of Cyrus and all the Persian kings were "the King," the "Great King," the "King of Kings," the "King of the Lands;" they are never called kings of

2 Chron. 36:22.

2 Chron. 36:20, 22 f.; Ezra 4:8; 5:6f.; 7:27f.; 8:1; Neh. 1:11; 2:1 ff.; Hag. 1: 1,15; Zech. 7:1.

Persia in contemporaneous literature; does not this fact point to a period considerably later than that of the Persian empire? (3) that the daric, a Persian coin intro- 1 Chron. 29:7. duced in the time of Darius I. (521-486 B. C.) and named after him, is spoken of as in use in the time of David: does not this suggest that the coin had been so long in use when Chronicles was prepared that the time and place of its origin had been forgotten? (4) that the language of the book has a very strong Aramaic coloring, is full of words and phrases characteristic of post-exilic literature, and that the syntax is of a decidedly late character; (5) that in the list of Zerubbabel's descendants 1 Chron. 3: 19-24. six generations are enumerated according to the Hebrew text, while the Septuagint gives eleven. Since Zerubbabel lived about 520 B. C., and a generation may be Hag. 1:1. reckoned at about twenty years, this genealogy, according to the Hebrew text, gives us a date about 400 B. C.; or, if the Septuagint be accepted, about 300 B. C. (6) If Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah are the work of the same editor,2 may we not use data furnished by Ezra and Nehemiah to determine the date of Chronicles? In Nehemiah the high-priest Jaddua is mentioned, and the Neh. 12:11. 22. phrase "the days of Jaddua" is employed to indicate a date in the past. Does not this suggest that the writer lived some time after Jaddua? But, according to the narrative of Josephus,3 Jaddua was the high-priest who met Alexander the Great as he marched through Syria (333 B. C.) and rendered him favorable to the Jews. Hence we get a date about 300 B. C. for the compilation of Chronicles.

See, e. g., BARNES, The Books of Chronicles (Cambridge Bible, 1899), pp. xi f.; W. R. SMITH AND S. R. DRIVER, article "Chronicles," Encyclopædia Biblica, Vol. I, col. 764; FRANCIS BROWN, article 'Chronicles I and II," HASTINGS'S Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I, p. 392; DRIVER, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (6th ed.), pp. 518 ff.

<sup>1</sup> For the linguistic data and their bearing on the date of Chronicles see especially FR. BROWN's article "Chronicles," in HASTINGS'S Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I, pp. 389-92; DRIVER, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (6th ed.), pp. 504 ff.; and article "Chronicles, Books of," in Encyclopædia Biblica (§ 11).

<sup>2</sup> See the next study for a consideration of this question.

<sup>3</sup> Antiquities, XI, viii, 4, 5.

2 Chron. 9: 29; 12: 15; 13: 22; 20: 34; 26: 22; 32: 34; 33: 19; 1 Chron. 29: 29.

1 Chron. 9:1;
16:11; 20:34;
25:26; 27:7;
28:26; 32:32;
33:18; 35:27;
36:8.
1 Chron. 23:27;
27:24.
2 Chron. 35:25;
2 Chron. 24:27.
2 Chron. 36:22 ff.,
cf. 1 Kings
22:43; 24:2, cf.
2 Kings 12:2;
2 Kings 12:2;
2 Kings 12:2;
55:1-4, cf.
2 Kings 14:2 f.,
5f.; 1 Chron. 14:
3-7, cf. 2 Sam.
15:13-16; 20:1,
cf. 2 Sam. 15:1.
Chron. 5:17.
Chron. 16:8-36,
cf. Pss. 105:1-15; 96:1-13;
106:1. 47 f.

§ 221. The Sources of the Books of Chronicles. - Since the chronicler was one of the latest contributors to the collection of writings known as the Old Testament, consider the probability of his having used many sources already in existence both within and outside of the Old Testament writings, and notice his frequent references to such sources, viz.: (1) a series of prophetic narratives, (a)the "words of Nathan, the prophet;" (b) the "prophecy of Ahijah, the Shilonite;" (c) the "visions of Iddo, the seer; "(d) the "words of Iddo, the seer;" (e) the "midrash of the prophet Iddo;" (f) the "words of Shemaiah, the prophet;" (g) the "words of Jehu, the son of Hanani;" (h) "the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, write;" (i) the "vision of Isaiah, the prophet, the son of Amoz;" (j) the "words of Hozai;" (k) the "words of Samuel, the seer, and of Gad, the seer;" (2) a set of court records, variously cited as (a) "the book of the kings of Israel;" (b) "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel;" (c) "the book of the kings of Israel and Judah;" (d) "the affairs of the kings of Israel;" (3) a similar record of the reign of David; (4) a collection of lamentations; (5) "the midrash of the book of the kings," which is perhaps identical with the "book of the kings" cited under (2); (6) the canonical books of Samuel and Kings must have been known to the chronicler, and many passages indicate a close relationship between the two; (7) ancient genealogical lists; (8) collections of psalms.

In connection with an investigation of the sources, the following general questions are to be considered: Did the chronicler use any sources other than those used by the compiler of Samuel and Kings? Is the relationship between Chronicles, on the one hand, and Samuel and Kings, on the other, to be explained as due to (a) direct borrowing of the former from the latter, or to (b) the use of the same sources by both, or to (c) the use by the chronicler of a work based upon the canonical books of Samuel and Kings? What is the significance of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> It is probable, however, that these existed only as a part of the more comprehensive work cited under (2).

name "midrash" applied to two of the above-mentioned sources? How much material, if any, did the chronicler himself contribute?

On the sources of Chronicles see, e.g., BARNES, op. cit., pp. xviii-xxi; FR. BROWN, op. cit., pp. 394 f.; DRIVER, Introduction, etc., pp. 519 ff.; W. R. SMITH AND DRIVER, Encyclopædia Biblica, Vol. I, coll. 766 ff.; BENZINGER, Die Bücher der Chronik, pp. x ff.; KUENEN, Einleitung u. s. w., §§ 28-32; KITTEL, History of the Hebrews, Vol. II, pp. 244-30.

§ 222. The Chronicler's Treatment of His Sources .-This is most easily seen by means of a comparison between Chronicles on the one hand and Samuel and Kings on the other. (1) Note that some material appears in both works in almost exactly the same form. Consider the character of this material, (a) with reference to its fitness for the chronicler's purpose, (b) as conveying ideas that were in keeping with those represented by the chronicler (cf. § 227). (2) Note the presence of some material not found in Samuel and Kings. Consider (a) the reason for its incorporation by the chronicler, (b) the source whence it was derived, (c) the question of its historical credibility. (3) Note the absence from Chronicles of some material found in Samuel and Kings. Consider the reason for its rejection by the chronicler as bearing on the question of the purpose of the latter. (4) Note that there are many cases in which the chronicler modifies the material in Samuel and Kings in some degree, sometimes condensing a narrative greatly, sometimes expanding; at other times changing the significance of an event, or magnifying the size of an army, or disregarding historical fact. Consider, with reference to such cases, whether the divergence is to be explained (a) as due to the greater faithfulness of one or the other compiler to the source whence the material was taken; or (b)as demanded by the chronicler's more advanced conception of God; or (c) as an outgrowth of the chronicler's idea of the temple and the cultus; or (d) as a result of the different historical circumstances and influences amid which the chronicler lived, as compared with the times in which Samuel and Kings were edited; or (e) as due to any other historical or theological influences.

1 Chron. 10: 1-12 (cf. 1 Sam. 31: 1-13); 11: 1-9 (cf. 2 Sam. 5: 1-3, 6-10); 14:1-16 (cf. 2 Sam. 5: 11-25); chap. 17 (cf. 2 Sam., 2 Chron. 1: 14-17 (cf. 1 Kings 10: 26-29); 9:29-10:19 (cf. 1 Kings 11:41-12:19); etc. 1 Chron. 10:13 f.; 14:17; chaps. 22-29; 2 Chron. 14:9-15; 24:20-22; 33:10-13; etc. 2 Sam. 5:4f.; 11:2-12:23; 13:1-14:33; 1 Kings. chaps. 17, 18, 19; 2 Kings 3: 1— 8: 15; chap. 10; r Chron. 13: 15 f. (ef. 2 Sam., chap. 6); 2 Chron. 5: 4 (cf. 1 Kings 8:3); chap. 23 (cf. 2 Kings, chap. 11); chap. 20 (ef. 2 chap. 20 (cf. 2 Kings, chap. 3); 12:2b-8 (cf. 1 Kings 14:25 f.); 14:5 and 17:6 (cf. 1 Kings 15:14; 22:43); 3:1-13 (cf. Kings 6: 1-3, 15-35); 8: 12-16 (cf. 1 Kinge 9: 25); 14: 3-5 (cf. 1 Kings 15: 12) 16:12-14 (cf. 1 Kings 15: 236-24a); 28: 5-15 (cf. 2 Kings (cf. 2 Kings 16: 5); 29: 3— 31: 21 (cf. 2 Kings 18: 4-7a); 32: 24-33 (cf. 2 Kings, chap. Xings, chap.
20); 36: 9 f. (cf.
2 Kings 24: 817); 36: 11-21
(cf. 2 Kings
24: 18-25: 21);
1 Chron. 18: 4 and 19: 18 (cf. 2 Sam. 8: 4; 10: 18); 21:25 (cf. 2 Sam. 24: 24);

I-Q.

23-27.

Chron. 29: 12-14; 31:11-19 .

§ 223. The Chronicler's Use of Genealogies.—Chronicles resembles P in its abundant use of genealogical r Chron., chaps. lists. Note (1) that the period from Adam to the death of Saul is merely outlined by a series of genealogies; Chron., chaps. (2) the genealogical character of much of the material in the narrative of David's preparations for the building and care of the temple; (3) the emphasis placed upon genealogies of the priests and Levites. How is this use of genealogies to be explained? Why is so much care taken in tracing the descent of priests and Levites? Was there any connection between this and the later Hebrew law, which was very stringent in prohibiting the participation of foreigners and non-Levites in the conduct of the temple worship? Whence may we suppose that the chronicler secured these long lists of names? they be depended upon as historically accurate?

Chron. 12:23-37; 29:1-9;2 Chron. 2:17 f.; 15:11; 17:11, 14-19; 25:5 f.; 26:11 ff.; 27:6; 29:17, 21, 32 f.; 30:24; 34:3.

§ 224. The Chronological and Statistical Character of Chronicles.—Note that, in addition to figures given in the narrative of Samuel and Kings, Chronicles states the number of the Israelites who came to make David king in Hebron; the value of the offerings made in David's last days for the building of the temple; the number of "strangers" pressed into the work of building the temple; the number of oxen and sheep sacrificed in one day in the third month of the fifteenth year of Asa; the number of sheep and goats brought to Jehoshaphat as tribute by the Arabians; the number of soldiers in Jehoshaphat's standing army; the number of the warriors of Judah led forth by Amaziah to battle against Edom in the valley of Salt; the size of Uzziah's standing army; the number of Judah's warriors slain by Pekah of Israel; the exact date of the cleansing of the temple in Hezekiah's reign; the number of sheep, oxen, and goats sacrificed in connection with this occasion; the dates of Josiah's first steps toward religious reform; and other similar data. (1) Can any principle or principles be discovered which will account for part or all of this statistical information? or (2) is it merely a characteristic of the chronicler's literary style? (3) What is the bearing on this question of the fact that there are divergencies between Chronicles and Kings in many cases where they give figures for the same event? (Cf. § 222, (4).)

§ 225. The Literary Style of Chronicles.—Consisting, as it does, in large part of excerpts from earlier sources which have been edited and supplemented by the editor of Chronicles, we cannot expect to find the unity of style that is manifest in a work that comes from one hand. Examine lists of the peculiarities of vocabulary and syntax in Chronicles<sup>5</sup> and read large portions of the book with a view to determining (a) the style of the chronicler as distinguished from that of the sources he uses; (b) the style of the chronicler as compared with the prophetic narratives in I, E, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, on the one hand, and with P, on the other. Is the style seen to be involved, stiff, prosaic, repetitious?

§ 226. The Chronicler's Selection of Material.—If it was not the aim of the chronicler to write a history, but to use history in such a way as to illustrate and enforce great ideas which he wished to present, should we not expect to find that he selects and arranges his material with a view to his purpose? Note that (1) he passes 2 Chron., chap. over the history of northern Israel in silence, except in a few places where the intimate relation of the two kingdoms compels him to mention Israel; why? (2) that he fails to mention the sins of David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and others who were interested in supporting the temple and its worship; why? (3) that he emphasizes 1 Chron., chaps. the activities of these kings in behalf of the temple and priesthood to such an extent as to make them appear more like priests than kings; why? (4) that he assigns the priests an essential part in the battle-array; why? (5) that the religious institutions are given an exceedingly 1 Chron. 6:1-81; large place as compared with the books of Samuel and Kings. What light do these and other similar facts shed upon the nature of the purpose of Chronicles? Is it not a church history rather than a history of the nation? 1 Chron. 13:10;

§ 227. The Religion of the Chronicler.—Note (1) that the Priestly Code serves as the standard in all

Chron., chap.
10; 11: 1-4;
chap. 13; 16: 16; chap. 18;
20: 35-37; 22: 59; 25: 6-10, 1724; 28: 5-15;

<sup>15-17; 21:18—</sup> 29:22; 2 Chron., chaps. 1-7; 17: 1-9; 19:4-11; 24:4-16; chaps. 29-31; 34:1— 35:19; etc. 2 Chron. 13:12.

<sup>9: 10-34;</sup> chaps. 23-26; 2 Chron. 23-20; 2 Chron, 35:1-19 (cf. 2 Kings 23:21 ff.); chaps.29-31 (cf. 2 Kings 18:4).

<sup>15:2-15;</sup> 2 Chron. 8: 12 f.; 13:9-11; 26:16 21; 29: 12-36;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>See, e. g., Driver, Introduction, etc., pp. 535-40; Fr. Brown, Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I, pp. 389 ff.

Chron. 20:5; 17:14-19; 25:5; 26:11 ff; 11:1.

2 Chron. 27:6; 33:11-13; 31:21; 13:11; 17:4 f.; 26:5. 1 Chron. 10:13 f.; 2 Chron. 25:20; 24:24 f.; 28:5 ff., 10; 26:16 ff.;

1 Chron. 10:131.; 2 Chron. 25:20; 24:24 f.; 28:5 ff., 19; 26:16 ff.; 21:12 ff. 2 Chron. 13:15, 18; 26:5; 16:7, 12.

1 Chron. 28;9; 2 Chron. 14:11; 5:22, 26; 16:9. 2 Chron. 30:9,

2 Chron. 30:19.

Cf. § 222, (3).

2 Chron., chaps. 23-28; 2 Chron., chaps. 3, 4.

I Chron. 14:17; 2 Chron. 1:14-17; 17:10-19; 32: 23, 27-31.

See, e.g., 1 Chron., chaps. 13, 15, 16, 17; 21: 18-20: 22.

29: 22. 2 Chron. 7: 5; 13: 3; 17: 10-19; 25: 11-13; 27: 6, 8;

2 Chron. 8:2; 21:12 (cf. 2 Kings 3:11; 8:16). matters of ritual and worship; (2) that the most religious kings are represented as the mightiest, David having more than a million and a half of soldiers, Jehoshaphat over a million, Asa more than half a million, Amaziah and Uzziah only 300,000, Rehoboam only 180,000; (3) that prosperity is declared to be due to faithfulness to Jehovah and his worship as conducted at the temple; (4) that disaster is declared to be due to sin in abandoning Jehovah or his worship; (5) that Jehovah is the only and all-sufficient source of help and deliverance; (6) that Jehovah is omnipotent and omniscient; (7) that Jehovah is merciful and good, ever ready to pardon the penitent; (8) that, though great emphasis is laid upon ritual, the spirit of an act is recognized as more important than the form.

§ 228. The Idealistic Character of Chronicles.— Recall (1) that there is silence as to the great sins of David and other religious leaders; (2) that the Mosaic system as it existed in the chronicler's day is represented as in full operation in the times of David and Solomon; (3) that the splendor and power of the kingdom in the days of David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and others are rather a reflection of the greatness of the Persian empire, with which the chronicler was familiar, than a representation of the actual state of affairs; (4) that a disproportionate prominence is given to matters of temple and ritual in the early days of the kingdom; (5) that there is a tendency to use extraordinarily large numbers in calculations and estimates; (6) that occasionally he changes the natural course of historical events, e. g., representing Hiram of Tyre as giving cities to Solomon, though the book of Kings states that the cities were given to Hiram by Solomon in payment for assistance rendered by Hiram in the work of building the temple; and Elijah write a message to King Jehoram, although Elijah making had been dead for some time. How may these things be most satisfactorily explained? Are they due merely to a lack of historical perspective? Can they be accounted for as necessary to the accomplishment of the chronicler's purpose? Is there a sense in which they

represent a larger truth than could be imparted by a statement of bare fact? In other words, can these representations be regarded as ideally true, if not literally?

### § 229. Literature to be Consulted.

EWALD, History of Israel (1843, 3d ed. 1864, transl. 1883), Vol. I, pp. 169 ff.; C. F. KEIL, The Books of Chronicles (1870, transl. 1872); ZÖCKLER-MURPHY, The Books of Chronicles (LANGE'S "Commentary," 1874); W. R. SMITH, art. "Chronicles," Encyclopædia Britannica (1876); WELLHAUSEN, Prolegomena to the History of Israel (1878, 5th ed. 1899, transl. 1885), pp. 171-227; W. R. SMITH, Old Testament in the Jewish Church (1881, 2d ed. 1892), pp. 140 ff., 182 ff.; BALL, Chronicles (ELLICOTT'S "Commentary for English Readers," 1883); WILDEBOER, Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament (1891, transl. 1895), see Index; S. R. DRIVER, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (1891, 6th ed. 1897), pp. 516-40; KITTEL, History of the Hebrews, Vol. II (1892, transl. 1896), pp. 224-9; J. ROBERTSON, Book by Book (1892), pp. 111-19; JENNINGS, "Chronicles," The Thinker, July, Sept., Nov., 1892; RYLE, Canon of the Old Testament (1892), pp. 138 f., 145, 151, 162; MONTEFIORE, The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews ("Hibbert Lectures," 1892), pp. 447 ff., 454, 483; RENAN, History of the People of Israel, from the Rule of the Persians to That of the Greeks (1893, transl. 1895), pp. 151 ff.; W. H. BENNETT, The Books of Chronicles ("Expositor's Bible," 1894); GIRDLESTONE, Deuterographs (1894), passim; DRIVER, "The Speeches in Chronicles," Expositor, Apr. and Oct., 1895; G. B. GRAY, Studies in Hebrew Proper Names (1896), chap. iii; KAUTZSCH, An Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament (1896, transl. 1899), pp. 121-8; W. E. BARNES, "The Religious Standpoint of the Chronicler," American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Vol. XIII (1896-97), pp. 14-20; IDEM, An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version (1897); IDEM, "Chronicles a Targum," Expository Times, Vol. VIII (1897), pp. 316 f.; CROCKETT, A Harmony of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles (1897); FR. BROWN, art. "Chronicles," HASTINGS'S Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I (1898); T. K. CHEYNE, Jewish Religious Life after the Exile (1898), see Index; T. G. SOARES, "The Import of the Chronicles as a Piece of Religio-Historical Literature," American Journal of Theology, Vol. III (1899), pp. 251-74; W. R. SMITH AND S. R. DRIVER, art. "Books of Chronicles," Encyclopædia Biblica, Vol. I (1899); C. F. KENT, History of the Jewish People during the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek Periods (1899), pp. 101 ff.; BEECHER, "Is the Chronicler a Veracious Historian for the Post-Exilian Period?" Bible Student, Oct., 1899, Jan. and Feb., 1900; HOWLETT, "Wellhausen and the Chronicler," Dublin Review, Apr., 1900; MACMILLAN, "The Date of Chronicles," Presbyterian and Reformed Review, July, 1900; J. E. McFadyen, The Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians (1901), pp. 270-85; R. SOMERVELL, "The Historical Character of the Old Testament Narratives," Expository Times April, 1902, pp. 298-302.

DE WETTE, Kritischer Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit d. Chron. ("Beiträge," Vol. I (1806)); C. P. W. GRAMBERG, Die Chronik nach ihrem geschichtlichen Charakter und ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit geprüft (1823); C. F. Kell, Apologetischer Versuch über die Bücher der Chronik (1833); Movers, Kritische Untersuchungen über die bibl. Chron. (1834); E. Bertheau, Die Bücher der Chronik ("Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament," 1854, 2d ed. 1873; 3d ed. by Ryssel, 1887); Kuenen, Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek (1861, 2d ed. 1887), §\$ 28-32; Graf, Di

geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments (1866), pp. 114-247; DE WETTE-SCHRA-DER, Einleitung in das Alte Testament (1869), §\$ 224-33; WELLHAUSEN, De gentibus et familiis Judaeis quae 1 Ch. 2-4 enumerantur (1870); FRANZ DELITZSCH, "Die Formenreichtum der israelitischen Geschichtsliteratur," Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie und Kirche, Vol. XXXVI (1870), pp. 31 ff.; L. DIESTEL, "Die hebräische Geschichtsschreibung," Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, Vol. XVIII (1873), pp. 365ff.; OETTLI, Die Bücher der Chronik ("Kurzgefasster exegetischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament," 1889); RIEHM, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Vol. II (1890). pp. 316-28; CORNILL, Einleitung in das Alte Testament (1891, 2d ed. 1896), § 46; BUDDE, "Vermutungen zum 'Midrasch' des Buches der Könige," Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft, Vol. XII (1892), pp. 37 ff.; H. WINCKLER, Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen (1892), pp. 157-67 (="Bemerkungen zur Chronik als Geschichtsquelle"); KÖNIG, Einleitung in das Alte Testament (1893), pp. 269-76; WILDEBOER, De Letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds naar de Tijdsorde van haar Ontstaan (1893; German transl. 1895), pp. 404-20; KLOSTERMANN, art. "Chronik," Realencyklopädie für prot. Theologie und Kirche, Vol. IV (3d ed. 1898); BENZINGER, Die Bücher der Chronik ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament" (1901); BAUDISSIN, Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testamentes (1901), pp. 266-78; ROTHSTEIN, Die Genealogie des Königs Jojachim und seiner Nachkommen (1 Chron. 3:17-24) in geschichtlicher Beleuchtung (1902).

### \$230. Constructive Work.

- 1. Make a minute comparison of 2 Chron. 2:1—9:31 with 1 Kings 5:1—11:43, and (1) classify the variations which are found; (2) explain the motive which may have led to the making of the change.
- 2. Make a similar comparison of the psalms found in 1 Chron. 16:8-36 with the form of these same psalms as they occur in the Psalter, viz., Pss. 105:1-15; 96:1-13; 106:1, 47 f.
- 3. Study the classification of the sources of Chronicles as presented by Driver, viz.: (1) the canonical books from Genesis to Kings; (2) the "book of the kings of Israel and Judah," which included the prophetic writings referred to in 2 Chron. 20:34; 32:32; 33:19, and possibly those mentioned in 1 Chron. 29:29; 2 Chron. 9:29; 12:15; (3) the "acts of Uzziah," 2 Chron. 26:22; (4) the "midrash of the prophet Iddo," 2 Chron. 13:22; and (5) the "midrash of the book of the kings" (2 Chron. 24:27), unless this be identical with (2).
- 4. Study the classification of sources as given by Kautzsch, viz.:
  (1) excerpts from canonical books of Samuel and Kings: 1 Chron., chaps. 1-9; 10:1-12; 11:1-9; 14:1-17; 16:43—17:27; 2 Chron. 1:13.

  —3:1; 5:2-10; 5:13b—6:12; 6:14-39; 7:4, 5, 7, 8; 7:17—8:1; 8:6-11a; 9:1-28; 9:30—11:4; 12:2a, 9b-11, 13b; 12:15b—13:2; 13:23a; 15:16-18; 18:3-34; 21:1; 24:1-2a; 24:27b—25:4; 25:17-20a, 21-26; 25:27b—26:4; 27:1-2a, 3a; 28:1-2a, 3, 4; 29:1, 2; 32:33d—33:9; 34:1,2; (2) similar excerpts which were edited by the

chronicler: I Chron. 13: 1-14; 15: 25-29; 18: 1-21: 27; 2 Chron. 1:7-12; 3: 2-5: 1; 7: 11-16; 8: 17 f.; 16: 1b-6; 20: 31-33a; 21: 5-10a; 24: 4-14; 26: 21-23; 27: 7-9; 32: 9-21; 32: 24; 33: 20-25; 34: 8-32a; 35: 18 f., 20b; 35: 26-36: 6a; 36: 8b-12a; (3) contributions of the chronicler himself and older sources which were thoroughly worked over by him into conformity with his own point of view: 1 Chron. 10: 13 f.; 11: 10-12: 40; 15: 1-24; 16: 1-42; 21: 28-29: 30; 2 Chron. 1: 1-6; 5: 11-13a; 6: 13; 6: 40-7: 3; 7: 6, 9 f.; 8: 2-5, 11b-16; 9: 29; 11: 5-12: 1; 12: 2b-9a, 12, 13a, 14, 15a; 13: 3-22; 13: 23b-15: 15; 15: 19-16: 1a; 16: 7-18: 2; 19: 1-20: 30; 20: 33b-37; 21: 2-4; 21: 10b-23: 21; 24: 2b, 3, 15-27a; 25: 5-16, 20b, 27a; 26: 5-20; 27: 2b, 3b-6; 28: 2b, 5-25; 29: 3-32: 8; 32: 22 f., 25-33c; 33: 10-19; 34: 3-7; 34: 32b-35: 17; 35: 20a, 21-25; 36: 6b-8a, 12b-23.

5. Prepare an outline statement in which you will embody the principal propositions (perhaps six or eight) which seem to hold good concerning the contents, style, date, and character of the books of Chronicles.

### § 231. Supplementary Topics.

1. Take up the question of genealogies in the Old Testament, and consider (1) the extent to which they appear; (2) the form in which they are given; (3) the purpose, in each case, of the insertion; (4) the accuracy of the representation; (5) similar usage in other Semitic literatures, especially Arabic.

See, e. g., E. L. Curtis, article "Genealogy," Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible; W. R. Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, chap. i; S. A. Cook, article "Genealogies," Encyc. Biblica: Guthe, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, pp. 2-6; Wellhausen, De gentibus et familiis Judaeis quae i Ch. 2-4 enumerantur; M. Berlin, "Gershonite and Merarite Genealogies," Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. XII (1900), pp. 291 ff.; McLennan, Studies in Ancient History, 2d series, chap. 9 (= "Examples of Fabricated Genealogies"); G. B. Gray, Studies in Hebrew Proper Names, chap. iii.

2. Consider the question of *numbers in Chronicles*, including (1) the variations between Chronicles and the prophetic histories of Samuel and Kings; (2) the motive for insertion; (3) the method of representation; (4) the general accuracy.

See, e. g., Francis Brown, article "Chronicles," Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I, p. 394; T. G. Soares, American Journal of Theology, Vol. III, pp. 264 f.: Benzinger, Chronik, p. ix.

3. Take up for study the *lost books* of Scripture which are cited in Chronicles, and in connection with these (1) other lost books cited elsewhere in Scripture, e. g., the book of Jashar; (2) the character, in general, of these books; (3) the relation of these books to the canonical books.

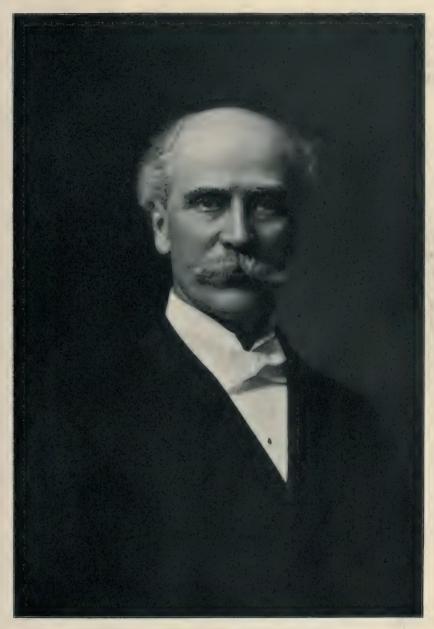
### The Council of Seventy.

#### THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT BARROWS.

The news of the death, on June 3, of Dr. John Henry Barrows, president of Oberlin College and of the Council of Seventy, was received with a shock of surprise and an unusually keen sense of grief and loss by a wide circle of friends and admirers all over the world. He seemed so full of vitality and energy and enthusiasm; one never thought of him as an old man, as indeed he was not, being but fifty-five years of age. His best work appeared to be opening out before him, not already done. The suddenness of his taking off — he was ill but nine days — intensified the first sensation of incomprehensible calamity which in his death seemed to have overtaken the movements with which he had been so closely associated.

These movements were many. One had hardly comprehended the variety of work he had been doing until from all sides came up the cry of grief at his death. At that never-to-be-forgotten memorial service at Oberlin on June 5, there sat upon the platform of the First Church representatives of Oberlin College, of the University of Chicago, of the World's Columbian Exposition, of the Society of Christian Endeavor, of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, and of the COUNCIL OF SEVENTY. Each representative in turn spoke of the deep interest taken by Dr. Barrows in that particular work, and of his eminent service therein. There were doubtless not a few other spheres of activity on which he left his mark for good.

The opportunities open to an energetic and aspiring nature are strikingly illustrated in his case. Born in a log-house at Medina, Mich., in 1847, the son of a home missionary, he was educated at Olivet College, and took his seminary course at Union and Andover Seminaries. While at Union Seminary he came under the spell of Henry Ward Beecher, then in his prime; and the influence exerted by that wonderful personality upon the young theological student was immediate and profound. Pastorates at Lawrence and East Boston, Mass., were followed by a call to the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, where he served eminently and successfully for fourteen years, 1881–96.



THE LATE PRESIDENT JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D.

He was a strong and eloquent preacher. Possessed of a remarkably oratorical style, his sentences finely balanced and richly freighted with metaphor and simile, his voice singularly melodious, his figure erect and graceful, he attracted eager listeners and held them by the virility of his thought. His was a heart deeply infused with the sympathy of the gospel, and a mind convinced by its truth; while at the same time both mind and heart were hospitable to all truth, and cordially candid in the consideration of all varieties of thought and teaching.

Nowhere were the largeness and balance of his mind more clearly manifested than in his conduct of the famous Parliament of Religions; and in no achievement of his life did he take more satisfaction than in the successful and brilliant outcome of that remarkable assembly. It had a critical influence upon his own career as well; for soon after it, and from motives growing out of it, he resigned his pastorate and entered upon the last and most remarkable phase of his career.

Convinced that the Parliament had opened the way for the better understanding, both by Christian and by non-Christian peoples, of the relation of Christianity to the world, a remarkable woman, Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell, a parishioner and friend of Dr. Barrows, offered to the University of Chicago a sum of money to establish two lectureships, which should have in view the bringing of Christianity into its proper relation to other religions. One of these foundations, called the "Haskell" lectureship, secured the delivery of a yearly course of lectures upon the subject at the University; by the other, named after Dr. Barrows himself the "Barrows" lectureship, a similar course of lectures was to be delivered at suitable times in the chief cities of India. Dr. Barrows was at once invited to be the first incumbent of these lectureships. His acceptance, at first without the intention of giving up his pastoral work, was soon followed by a larger appreciation of his new tasks and of the opportunities in them that led him to abandon all other interests in their behalf. He delivered at the University seven courses of lectures from 1894 to 1901. His work in India was a great success. The lectures delivered on "Christianity the World Religion" were published in India and widely circulated.

On his return, Dr. Barrows plunged into a missionary lecturing campaign. One of the fruits of his labors in this direction was his Morse Lectures, delivered in Union Theological Seminary on the subject "The Christian Conquest of Asia." He threw himself earnestly into the work of encouraging missionary endeavor on the broadest and most intelligent lines, and in the warmest spirit of evangelical truth.

His teaching and lecturing opened the way for his last and crowning work. He was elected to the presidency of Oberlin College in the winter of 1898. His service to that college was one peculiarly his own. He brought the college out of its isolation, interpreted its principles and significance to the people, and inspired it with a larger spirit of culture and cosmopolitanism. His labors resulted also in a large increase of its material resources. In his abundant and unsparing activities in its behalf he overestimated his own strength. He gave way under the strain of efforts which taxed his reserve of vitality beyond endurance, so that, when sudden illness came, he could not bear up against it. He died, as he had lived, in a spirit of humble trust in God and loving service to men, eager to serve yet more, but satisfied that, since God was calling him, his work was done.

In the death of Dr. Barrows the Council of Seventy loses one of its most eminent, earnest, and efficient members. He had been connected with the COUNCIL since the time of its organization in 1895, and for five years had been its president. A few months ago (in the BIBLICAL WORLD for March) he published a historical sketch of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, through which the Coun-CIL OF SEVENTY does its main work. In the growth of the INSTITUTE during the twenty-one years of its existence he saw the mighty sweep of progress toward a better knowledge and appreciation of the Bible, which creates inevitably a higher type of Christian life and thought. He saw clearly the present need and opportunity of promoting Bible study. While he was not, in the strictest sense, a biblical scholar, he was thoroughly informed as to modern scholarly work upon the Bible, and realized the great religious improvement which was coming through the spread of biblical intelligence. As president of the COUNCIL OF SEVENTY Dr. Barrows represented well the combination of conservatism and progress which characterizes that body; believing firmly in the Bible as the trustworthy record of God's supreme revelation to men, and as the adequate guide and inspiration for the world in the sphere of religion and ethics, he at the same time welcomed all historical study of the Book as an aid to its better understanding, appreciation, and practice. With perfect certainty that the Bible was providentially given as the chief means of teaching and promoting Christianity throughout the world, he was one in heart with the COUNCIL in all its plans and efforts to advance Bible study. In this service, as in the many others with which he was engaged, he could not well be spared.

# Whork and Whorkers.

REV. H. L. REED, of Albany College, has been appointed assistant professor in the New Testament department of Auburn Theological Seminary.

PROFESSOR LEVI LEONARD PAINE, D.D., dean of the faculty and professor of ecclesiastical history in Bangor Theological Seminary, died of pneumonia at Bangor, Me., on May 10. He was in his seventieth year, and had occupied this chair for thirty-one years. He was a graduate of Yale College (1856) and Divinity School (1859), and the degree of doctor of divinity was given him by this institution in 1875. He was a tutor at Yale for two years after graduation, and then pastor of the Congregational church at Farmington, Conn., until he assumed his professorship in 1871. Two recent works by Dr. Paine, The Evolution of Trinitarianism and The Ethnic Trinities, indicate the strength and originality of his work as a scholar, and he was engaged at the time of his death in the writing of a book on Inductive Theology, which probably would have developed more fully his own theological position. Professor Paine had given himself fully and earnestly to his class-room work; he was thorough and enthusiastic, a teacher of great ability, force, and influence.

We take pleasure in furnishing to our readers the fullest biographical sketch yet published in memory of the late Bishop Westcott, whose contributions to the interpretation of the New Testament and whose influence as a Christian were hardly exceeded by any scholar of the past generation in Great Britain. America also offers her tribute of appreciation, and acknowledges her profound indebtedness to Bishop Westcott's work. Nor is it inappropriate here to associate with this great New Testament scholar the name of one who was equally great in the field of the Old Testament, and who passed from his earthly labors but a few months later: we mean Professor A. B. Davidson, D. D., whose death was announced in the Biblical World for March. We have in hand for early publication a memorial article to Dr. Davidson prepared by Professor George Adam Smith, D.D., of Glasgow.

UNDER the direction of a state committee on the Graded Bible School, of which Professor E. T. Harper, Ph.D., of the Chicago Theo-

logical Seminary, is chairman, the Congregational Sunday schools of Illinois are moving forward in the adoption of the best educational methods for religious instruction. A year ago the committee published a report advocating the gradation of pupils according to the commonschool plan, and the introduction of a graded curriculum. Advice was given at some length as to how these vital improvements could best be accomplished. The committee has now published its second report, in which the features are described of a number of schools that have introduced gradation and curriculum, and further suggestions are given as to the planning and construction of courses of study, with references to the best literature upon these subjects. Copies of these reports can be had by applying to the chairman for them.

EXCAVATION in Palestine under the direction of the Palestine Exploration Fund is to be resumed, permission having been received to that effect from the Sultan. The work will be in charge of Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, who has already done much efficient work for the Fund. The important site of Gezer (= Gazara) is to be unearthed, and high anticipations will be entertained as to the finds which may be made. Gezer was an ancient Canaanitish city (Josh. 10:33; 12:12), being referred to in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (1400 B.C.). When the Israelites entered Canaan this town was included in the southern border of Ephraim, and was assigned to the Kohathite Levites (Josh. 16:3; 21:21); but it remained unconquered (Josh. 16:10; Judg. 1:29) until the time of Solomon, when the king of Egypt took it and presented it to his daughter, Solomon's wife (1 Kings 9:16). In the time of the Maccabean struggles the city was an important stronghold, and the scene of many battles (1 Macc. 4:15; 7:45; 9:52, etc.; 2 Macc. 10:32). The site of Gezer, which became unknown during the Middle Ages, was again identified in 1873 by M. Clermont-Ganneau (cf. Archæological Researches in Palestine, II, 257; Recueil d'Archéol. orient., I, 351-91). It is the high and isolated point Tell Jezer, close to the village of Abû Shûsheh, a little south of Ramleh toward Jerusalem, and about twenty miles west of Jerusalem by a direct line; it lies on the first ridge above the maritime plain. The hill has terraces of rude stone, with a citadel at its eastern end; interesting inscriptions have already been discovered upon it. There seems no question that Gezer is one of the most promising sites for exploration which could have been chosen.

# Book Reviews.

A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious. By Professor George A. Barton, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr College. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. xiii + 342. \$3.

In this book Dr. Barton, who is well known to the world of scholars as the writer of a number of valuable articles upon kindred subjects, gives us much more than the rather modest title would imply. He not only discusses the *origines Semiticae* in their several aspects, but follows out in careful detail the evolution of Semitic social and religious institutions, and traces their influence upon both the ancient and the modern world. In an inquiry of this nature social and religious questions are inseparably bound together, but the main interest naturally centers in the development of the Semitic religious systems which have so powerfully influenced the world's history. While, therefore, the various social problems are very fully discussed, they are studied chiefly for the light they throw upon the evolution of Semitic religion, and are properly and logically made subservient to the latter subject.

At the threshold of the investigation lies the important question as to the origin and primitive home of the Semitic race. After a thorough examination of the principal theories upon this subject and of the problems to which they give rise, the author finally reaches the conclusion that the Hamites and the Semites sprang from a common stock dwelling in northern Africa along the shores of the Mediterranean. At a very early period the ancestors of the Semites migrated to Arabia, which thus became the cradle of the race. Here, influenced by local conditions, they developed their language, their racial characteristics, and their peculiar institutions; and thence, in course of time, they spread in successive waves of conquest and migration. perhaps, as the time of their separation from their Hamitic brethren, they had reached the animistic stage of culture and formed totemic clans. At this time the family relations were extremely vague. Marriage was of a temporary character, women resided in the homes of their own kindred, and descent was reckoned through the mother. The hard conditions of life prevailing in the barren peninsula of Arabia led, however, to the killing of female children, and this brought about a paucity of women. These conditions gave rise to a state of

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polyandry resembling the Nair type. "Out of this there grew, through the formation of small trading clans and the influence of the capture of women, a system of Thibetan polyandry and, later, a system of male kinship" (p. 80).

In regard to the primitive religion of the Semites, the author accepts, in the main, Robertson Smith's conclusions, according to which the early Semitic community was conceived as made up of gods, men, and animals, all united by the bond of actual physical kinship. Each clan possessed its own deity, whose sphere of activity was limited to a definite locality. But Dr. Barton goes a step beyond this. Starting from the principle that the religious conceptions of every people must reflect the conditions actually existing among them, he draws the conclusion that a matriarchal society must possess matriarchal ideas of religion. As this appears to have been the prevailing social condition among the primitive Semites, to whom male kinship was practically unknown, their earliest deities must have been mother-goddesses, and the author adduces a very considerable mass of evidence to prove that this theory is in accord with the existing facts. These goddesses represented to their worshipers the principle of fecundity, and the festivals held in their honor were attended by sexual orgies which, more or less modified in form, survived till a late period. When, however, the old matriarchal system passed away and descent came to be reckoned through the father, the religious ideas of the Semites underwent a corresponding transformation, and the old mother-goddesses gave way to father-gods. This principle forms the guiding thread of Dr. Barton's argument. In process of time the religious ideas of the several Semitic peoples were, with advancing civilization, greatly modified and developed by political, social, and economic influences, and this development is carefully traced with great wealth of detail; but the fact is always kept in view that the whole Semitic religious fabric rests upon these primitive conceptions.

A thoughtful estimate is given of the influence of the Semites upon the non-Semitic world in ancient and in modern times, and a specially interesting chapter is devoted to the religion of Yahweh. In the latter Dr. Barton, adopting Budde's view of the Kenite origin of the Yahweh cult, points out the transformation of the natural into the ethical and spiritual religion, and its culmination in the conception of a universal monotheism. Such a development, the author believes, would have been impossible without the influence of divine inspiration working upon the minds of successive generations.

Dr. Barton's work is characterized by infinite research, methodical arrangement of the great amount of material he has gathered, sound judgment, and clear and logical treatment of the complicated questions he discusses. His arguments are, in the main, convincing, and his presentation of the subject is full of interest. Dr. Barton has produced a most valuable work, which must have an important influence upon the study of Semitic social and religious institutions.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, Baltimore, Md.

Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude. By PROFESSOR CHARLES BIGG, D.D., Oxford University. [International Critical Commentary.] New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. ix + 353. \$2.50.

The spirit of the book is winning. There is no suspicion of an attempt to defend the faith or to make a case for a cherished theory. The style is captivating, and the characterizations of mysticism and disciplinarianism illuminating. The reader is requested to work the book through, notes and all, and to reflect whether the evidence presented makes the conclusion tenable, or at least plausible. The author goes his own independent way, chary of fine print, not always regarding the editor's preface, and saying in the 350 odd pages apparently all he purposed to say. The method is noteworthy. Starting with the titles as given in tradition, he proceeds, at least in the case of Peter, to discover from Paul, gospels, Acts what the theological and ethical tendency of Peter is, as contrasted with that of Paul, and learns that the latter is a mystic, the former a disciplinarian; that, while both are at one in dogma, they differ in practice; that the right of it, in these often diametrically opposed types, is not always with Paul (pp. 63, 82).

With this estimate of Peter in mind, we are brought to First Peter and are shown the work of a disciplinarian. To be sure, the words are the words of Silvanus, but the ideas are the ideas of Peter. What overplus of agreement with Paul exists proves to be only "commonplace," "pulpit formulæ," while the "disagreement is in the remarkable" (p. 20). Although we are in the "same school of thought" as that of "Hebrews" and "James," yet, it is assumed, the disciplinarian is distinctively Peter. The first letter, we learn, is addressed to an Asiatic Christianity, and written from Rome (Babylon) in 58-64. The

συνεκλεκτή is Peter's wife. Just as in First Peter, we are to note in Second Peter not only the same "habit of verbal repetition," the same use of Apocrypha, but, above all, the same marks of a disciplinarian. To be sure, again the words are the words of an amanuensis (Silvanus or another Roman citizen, p. 219), but again the ideas are the ideas of Peter. It is not quite clear whether the author thinks that the emphasis on certain words like "knowledge," "divine nature." "divine power," the creative "logos" of God, "the prophetic logos," and the emphasis on the knowledge of Christ, as indispensable to the virtues, and consequently to salvation, namely, the sharing of the divine nature and the entrance into the eternal kingdom of Christ, is due to the amanuensis or to the subject treated. At all events, the man behind the epistle is Peter, and nothing in the thought of the letter makes this hypothesis untenable. For the parousia is a firstcentury phenomenon; the antinomianism is less definite than that of Colossians or the Pastorals; Paul's letters are read as Clement of Rome would read them; the chiliasm of the Apocalypse comes from Second Peter, as does the doctrine of the world-fire; likewise the impulse to pseudo-Petrine literature starts from 2 Peter 1:15.

The second letter, we learn, is written from Corinth shortly after the first, and addressed to the same churches as the first. A copy, moreover, is sent to Jude, who is thus under the necessity (vs. 3) of writing his own hasty, exaggerated, yet in a way skilful copy of Second Peter, from somewhere (Jerusalem?) to somewhere (Antioch?), some time in the sixties. In the case of Jude, no attempt is made to discover what his type is, mystic or disciplinarian, or both, for a short discussion has already revealed the secondary character of Jude. And so this epistle need be interpreted only as a copy of Second Peter, much to the disadvantage of the little fragment.

It is clear that the author rests his case largely on his reconstruction of the mystic and disciplinarian types, while he relegates to the different scribes the troublesome questions of style and language. With such a method, however, the reader certainly desires a careful differentiation within the species of the genus disciplinarian, a clear showing that there is a uniqueness in the disciplinarianism of First and Second Peter as compared with, let us say, Jude, James, Hebrews, Titus, First Clement, just as there is a decided uniqueness in the mysticism of Paul. Has the author proved that it is the *same* disciplinarian at work in both First and Second Peter? With an amanuensis to account for the "commonplace" Paulinism of Jude, for instance,

would there be anything to compel us to assume a different disciplinarian in Jude taken by itself from that in Second Peter taken by itself? The reader wonders, indeed, whether the term "disciplinarian" is an improvement on the older "Christianity as law." The comparison of Second Peter with the Apocalypse, in view of recent studies, should have been more detailed. It is apparently not an open question to the author whether or no the "holy mount" is a post-resurrection scene. as in the Apocalypse, although he does raise the question (p. 231) why Peter refers, not to the ascension, but to the transfiguration. Moreover, the significant phrase of Philo, ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος, appearing elsewhere in 2 Clem. 11:2 only (assigned by a curious slip to Clement of Rome in the first century, p. 210), where it refers to an apocalyptic writing (Eldad and Modad? cf. 1 Clem. 23:3), is assumed without discussion to refer to Old Testament prophecy. The exegesis, especially of Jude, is not quite as thoroughgoing as might have been expected in a critical and exegetical series. If Jude had been studied as a bit by itself, and not as a copy of Second Peter, the conclusions of pp. 216-24 might have been modified, if not obliterated. Text-criticism does not interest the author. He defends no method and states no text as his point of departure, but confines himself to remarks based on internal evidence of readings (p. 253). No proof is given for the fourthcentury dating of the Didache (pp. vii, 56).

But in spite of the questionings which have been hesitatingly expressed, the same in part as those which arise from a study of Spitta and Zahn, it must be emphasized that the commentary is a distinct contribution to scholarship, that it deserves a place alongside of its New Testament predecessors in the series, and that it is the best commentary on these epistles in English.

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The World before Abraham, according to Genesis I-XI. With an Introduction to the Pentateuch. By Professor H. G. MITCHELL, Boston University. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. 296. \$1.75, net.

In the introduction to the Pentateuch (pp. 1-67) Professor Mitchell discusses: (1) "Names and Divisions;" (2) "Traditional Authorship;" (3) "Structure and Composition;" (4) "Age of Documents and Order of Compilation." As indicating some of the most important conclusions

arrived at, the following may be quoted: "The conclusion reached with respect to the age of the Pentateuch, then, is that J originated about 850, and E about 800 B.C.; that the two, having been more or less revised and enlarged, were united into a composite document before 639 B.C.; that D, which was discovered in 621 B.C., but must have been written some time before and revised in the reign of Manasseh, was incorporated with JE early in the captivity; and that the Pentateuch was practically completed by the addition of P, a product of the first half of the fifth century B.C., before 444, if not before 458, the date of Ezra's appearance in Palestine."

Following this, there is given a brief statement of the analysis of Genesis, chaps. 1-11 (pp. 68-72), and a new translation of these chapters (pp. 73-94), in which the material belonging to the different documents is indicated by the use of different kinds of type. The translation is well done, and is based upon a carefully emended text, attention being called by means of footnotes to the versions upon which the respective emendations are founded. The larger part of the book (pp. 95-280) is a commentary on the foregoing chapters of Genesis. The comments are brief and to the point. Constant reference is made to the parallel Babylonian stories, the points of resemblance and variation being clearly indicated. On the one hand, emphasis is laid upon the unhistorical and legendary character of the Genesis narratives; on the other, their distinctively religious purpose and value is made prominent. The book closes with an appendix, containing a translation of the Babylonian account of the deluge (pp. 281-7), and a full set of indexes.

The purpose of the work, as defined by the author, is to meet the needs of that large class of students for whom such works as those of Dillmann, Gunkel, and Holzinger are too formidable. It seems to be well adapted to this purpose, and to be an admirable elementary guide to the principles and methods of Hexateuchal criticism. In point of difficulty, it stands about midway between the Cambridge Bible and the International Critical Commentary. The advisability of puzzling the student in such a work with unfamiliar names like 'Adham, Hebhel, Kayin, Kanokh, Kena'an, etc., is somewhat doubtful. Reference should be made on p. 118, in the note citing literature on the sabbath, to the important article by Morris Jastrow, "The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath," American Journal of Theology, Vol. II (1898), pp. 312-52. The author seems to waver in his opinion as to the location of the Garden of Eden, placing it at first

(p. 124) in the Arabian desert, but later (p. 133) suggesting a location near Babylon.

In general, the work is characterized by the same qualities as the author's earlier work on Amos (1893, 2d ed. 1900), and that on Isaiah I-XII (1897), and is to be heartily commended to the class of students for which it is intended.

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The Field of Ethics. By Professor George Herbert Palmer, LL.D., Harvard University. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. 213. \$1.10, net.

Culture and Restraint. By Hugh Black. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1901. Pp. 350.

These two books are valuable contributions to the modern discussion of ethical problems. They undertake to answer a question which in various forms brings perplexity to the student of ethics. On the theoretical side the question assumes this form: Is ethics anything more than a descriptive science, informing us after investigation what types of action men as a matter of fact pronounce moral? On the practical side the question is as follows: Does duty consist in anything more than living according to nature in the largest sense? Professor Palmer answers the first question; Mr. Black deals with the second. The two books concur in the conclusion that morality is not something totally separated from the natural life. To attempt to assign to ethics a sphere of action which it should not share with other sciences and interests is impossible. But, on the other hand, to attempt to displace ethics by any other sciences is to ignore the primary facts in the moral action. Both books are models of clearness and literary skill. Technical language is avoided. They are thus admirably adapted for the layman as well as for the specialist.

Professor Palmer proceeds by successive differentiations to ascertain the real field of ethics. As a normative science it is distinguished from all descriptive sciences: from physics because it deals with facts of consciousness; from philosophy because it deals with the specific aspect of consciousness based on volition; from history because it deals with future, undetermined facts instead of with past, determined facts. In short, ethics attempts to tell us what ought to be rather than what actually is. Law and æsthetics share with ethics this normative function.

But law considers the objective acts of a person, prescribing regulations for the benefit of society. Law is not primarily concerned with the subjective development of character; while this is precisely the concern of ethics. Æsthetics, on the other hand, is exclusively subjective in its judgments, estimating a person purely in terms of himself. Ethics relates the subjective worth of the individual to the objective reality of the moral imperative. Æsthetics deals with the finite, ethics with the infinite. About one-third of the book is devoted to the relation between religion and ethics. Both regard man as related to the infinite. Religion emphasizes man's littleness, his need of a higher power. Morality emphasizes man's freedom, his power to relate himself to the infinite reality. Neither can be isolated from the other without disastrous results. The discussion is enlivened by many homely illustrations, showing that the author is careful to portray the facts of moral consciousness rather than to defend a preconceived theory. It is full of suggestions for psychologists, preachers, and teachers.

The section in Professor Palmer's book on the relation between æsthetics and ethics suggests the theme of Mr. Black's stimulating discussion. Two or three titles of chapters will give a hint of the treat in store for the reader: "Zion against Greece: The Problem Stated;" "The Æsthetic Ideal—Culture;" "Culture as Religion;" "The Ascetic Ideal — Restraint;" "The Physical Treatment of the Spiritual Life." There is always the tendency on the part of the literary and philosophic leaders of mankind to urge culture as the highest ideal. Culture means the development of self by giving a cordial welcome to all that is good, true, and beautiful in the world. We are destined to live in this world; let us drink deep at the natural joys of life in its broadest aspect. Important as culture is, if men are not to be limited by commercial, or provincial, or prosaic, or ascetic narrowness, it is itself limited by its failure to face the fact of sin in human life. The shortcomings of the new gospel proposed by men like Goethe, Walter Pater, and J. R. Seeley are admirably set forth in chap. 3. "Any form of culture turned into a religion is bound to become an esoteric creed, and, since it is an intellectual religion, it must receive the fate of all philosophies." Men who invite us to return to Hellenism overlook the fact that Greek culture frankly admitted that the majority of men could never taste its delights nor feel its inspiration. The history of the Greek world in the first four centuries of the Christian era shows that mankind as a whole prefers the Christian ideal to the Greek. The Christian ideal has often been identified with asceticism, and therefore

condemned. The real paganism is not to be found in the rhapsodies of a Pater, but in the annals of Tacitus or the satires of Iuvenal. Asceticism is the practical moral condemnation of this type of worldliness. As a protest against the moral inadequacy of naturalism, asceticism contains eternal truth. "A man must be willing to do without happiness, must put duty first at all costs, must sometimes choose selfsacrifice so complete that there seems no room for earthly happiness in it." All moral character must be rooted in uncompromising obedience to the moral imperative, regardless of personal considerations. The mistake of asceticism arises when such self-denial is made an end in itself. Renunciation of the world as a voluntary expression of mora earnestness contains real spiritual dynamic. Renunciation of the world as a moral end imposed by external authority means the elimination of all spiritual spontaneity. Thus extremes meet. Asceticism, which began in a revolt from the selfish exclusiveness of culture, ends in a new type of selfish exclusiveness.

The Christian ideal includes all which was true in both Zion and Greece. Both culture and self-denial are means to the higher end of service. Christ teaches us first to renounce the world in order to find God. When God is found, the world is rediscovered as the providential means of attaining loving communion with God and with men.

Both of these books emphasize the aspect of ethics which Christian teachers should always keep in the foreground. No such thing as morality could exist if men did not possess the spiritual capacity to recognize the moral imperative and to yield obedience to it. In their zeal for philosophical theories of ethics or for the formulation of codes of social ethics, men sometimes forget that the primary conditions of morality are conscience and voluntary obedience to its imperative. The Christian teacher makes a woeful failure if he does not attempt to develop these psychological presuppositions of all ethical science.

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# Current Literature.

[Books marked with an asterisk (\*) will be reviewed in subsequent issues.]

#### OLD TESTAMENT.

#### BOOKS.

- \*Curtiss, S. I. Primitive Semitic Religion To-day. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1902. Pp. 288. \$2, net.
- \*Duff, Archibald. The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. 304. \$1.25, net.
- \*SCHMIDT, EMANUEL. Solomon's Temple, in the Light of Other Oriental Temples. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1902. Pp. 71.

#### ARTICLES.

WRIGHT, G. F. Geological Confirmations of the Noachian Deluge, I. Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1902, pp. 282-93.

We are permitted to regard the universal statements concerning the flood as being the language of appearance, so that "all the mountains and hills under the whole heavens" may naturally mean all those within the horizon of the writer's vision, or within reach of his knowledge, or within the circle which was then inhabited by man. Moreover, a careful study of the subject will show that the genealogical tables in Genesis, chaps. 5 and 11, are not designed to give chronological data, but merely to indicate lines of descent. Dr. Wright therefore maintains that there was a flood, but that it was only a local inundation, and that the time of its occurrence is to be determined, not from the Bible, but by geological evidence.

COOK, S. A. Israel and Totemism. Jewish Quarterly Review, April, 1902, pp. 413-48.

In this highly valuable paper the author brings up to date the discussion of whether the Semites practiced totemism, and what indications the Old Testament furnishes of such practice. Readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD will recall the careful and informing article upon this subject in the number for September, 1901, pp. 176-84. Mr. Cook has been moved to write by the appearance of a new book, Zapletal's Der Totemismus und die Religion Israels (Freiburg, 1901), which undertakes to prove that there was no totemism among the Semites, and therefore no indications of totemism in the Old Testament. The most able defender of Semitic totemism was Robertson Smith, in his Religion of the Semites, and Zapletal has sought to overthrow all his arguments in support of that view. Mr. Cook makes it clear that there has been much progress made since Robertson Smith wrote, in the study of totemism, and that in important respects the views expressed in the Religion of the Semites can be improved upon. For instance, in the light of vital new evidence from the Intichiuma rites (see Frazer, Fortnightly Review, April and May, 1901; Spencer and Gillen, Native Tribes of Central Australia, 1901; Journal of the Anthropological Institute,

1899, pp. 275 ff.), Mr. Cook accept Jacobs's acute criticism of Robertson Smith's theory of the totem-sacrifice: "The whole idea of communion seems to me too theologically abstract to be at the basis of savage rites of sacrifice. For these we must look to some utilitarian motive, based it may be on some savage and seemingly absurd idea, but logically deduced from it" (Studies in Biblical Archaeology, pp. 33 ff.). Instead of a mystic religious rite like the Christian sacrament of the eucharist (which was clearly in Robertson Smith's mind), we see a magical ceremony of the most practical and business-like intention. The difference is that between the spiritual religion of a highly cultured European and the crude, grossly materialistic magic of the primitive Australian savage. Mr. Cook refutes many of Zapletal's arguments, and inclines to the view that there are traces of totemism in the Old Testament, but will give no positive judgment.

- COUARD, LUDWIG. Die Vorgeschichte Israels und die neuere wissenschaftliche Forschung, I. Beweis des Glaubens, Heft 5, 1902, pp. 157-77.
- BENNETT, W. H. Wages in Ancient Israel. Expository Times, May, 1902, pp. 381 f.
- BEECHER, W. J. "Pillars" in the Old Testament. Homiletic Review, May, 1902, pp. 397-403.
- BONKAMP, B. H. Die Eroberung von Samaria und das vierzehnte Jahr des Ezechias. *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 163-8.

The conclusion reached in this discussion is that the fall of the Northern Kingdom certainly took place in the year 721 B.C.

- SINKER, E. "The Carcases of Your Idols," Lev. 26:30. Expository Times, May, 1902, pp. 383 f.
- BLACK, ARMSTRONG. Ruth: A Hebrew Idyl. Expositor, May, 1902, pp. 360-66.
- Braithwaite, E. E. Is the Book of Amos Post-Exilic? Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1902, pp. 366-74.

A rejoinder in defense of the pre-exilic date to the article of Edward Day and Walter Chapin in the American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures for January, 1902.

- STEVENSON, W. B. The Interpretation of Habakkuk, Chaps. 1 and 2. Expositor, May, 1902, pp. 388-400.
- HOONACKER, A. VAN. Les chapitres ix-xiv du livre de Zacharie. Revue biblique, April, 1902, pp. 161-83.
- DEWART, E. H. The Higher Criticism and Messianic Prophecy. Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1902, pp. 305-24.
- Bashford, J. W. Prophecy. *Methodist Review* (New York), May-June, 1902, pp. 345-55.
- MERCATI, G. Frammenti urbinati d' un' antica versione del libro II de' Maccabei editi ed illustrati da G. Mercati. Revue biblique, April, 1902, pp. 184-211.

RYSSEL, V. Die neuen hebräischen Fragmente des Buches Jesus Sirach und ihre Herkunft (Schluss). *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 347-420.

Ecclesiasticus: The Newly Discovered Fragments. Church Quarterly Review, April, 1902, pp. 164-78.

These fragments of the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus is the name derived from the Latin Vulgate), one of the most important books of the Old Testament Apocrypha, now give us about three-quarters of the whole work. Moreover, the Hebrew text which the fragments contain is by a large majority of scholars regarded as the original Hebrew text of the work, which was composed in Palestine about 200 B. C. At this time Aramaic was the popular language of the Jews, but Hebrew continued as a sacred or literary language, hence this book was written in Hebrew rather than in Aramaic. The grandson of the author of the work, who translated it into Greek in Egypt about 132 B. C. for the use of Greek-speaking Jews there, had a somewhat inadequate knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek, so that the Septuagint text presents many imperfections.

LAGRANGE, M.-J. Études sur les religions sémitiques: Les morts. Revue biblique, April, 1902, pp. 212-39.

PATTON, W. M. The Origin of the Semitic Alphabet. Methodist Review (New York), May-June, 1902, pp. 400-411.

#### NEW TESTAMENT.

#### BOOKS.

SCHMIEDEL, OTTO. Die Hauptprobleme der Leben Jesu Forschung. Tübingen: Mohr, 1902. Pp. 72. M. 1.25.

HOLTZMANN, O. Religionsgeschichtliche Vorträge. Giessen: Ricker, 1902. Pp. 177. M. 5.

The essays contained in this collection are the following: "Israel und die Propheten;" "Das jüdische Gesetz;" "Das Jahrhundert Jesu Christi;" "Jesus Christus;" "Die Eroberung der Welt durch die Kirche;" "Das Evangelium und die Konfessionen."

\*Bacon, B. W. The Sermon on the Mount: Its Literary Structure and Didactic Purpose. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 262. \$1.

NESTLE, EBERHARD. The Greek Testament. A Resultant Text Exhibiting the Critical Texts of Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort, and Weiss. With an Introduction and an Appendix by Professor R. F. Weidner. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1901. Pp. xvi + 657 + 52. \$1.

This is the third edition of Nestle's Greek Testament, as published in Germany, in an American edition. A fourth German edition has already appeared, but the modifications there introduced are given here in an appendix. Nestle has enlarged and improved his apparatus, so that the third edition is more valuable than the first, which was published in 1898. The features added to the American edition are small, slightly increasing the value of the volume.

Spence, H. D. M. Early Christianity and Paganism. From 64 A. D. to the Peace of the Church in the Fourth Century. London: Cassell, 1902. Pp. 576. 18s.

#### ARTICLES.

HILGENFELD, A. Die Versuchung Jesu. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 289-302.

This is an interesting discussion of the origin of the synoptic accounts of the temptation of Jesus, with especial reference to the specific theories of Soltau in his Unsere Evangelien, thre Quellen und thr Quellenwert (1901), and of Holtzmann in his third edition of the Handcommentar zu den Synoptikern (1901). Both of these writers had attempted to maintain the priority of the short Markan narrative of the temptation. But Hilgenfeld holds that the real spiritual content of the temptation has been squeezed out of the account in Mark, and that for this reason his account must be considered later than the parallel accounts in Matthew and Luke. Further than this, Hilgenfeld affirms that the "fashion" now in vogue of treating Mark as the earliest of the synoptic gospels cannot continue much longer; he believes that we shall soon return to the earlier Griesbach hypothesis which was side-tracked about 1838 A. D., but which represented the concurrent opinion of the first seventeen centuries of Christian thought.

- SCHMIEDEL, P. W. Jungfraugeburt und Taufbefehl nach neuesten Textfunden. Protestantische Monatshefte, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 85-95.
- GARVIE, A. E. Studies in the "Inner Life" of Jesus. 4. The Vocation Accepted. *Expositor*, May, 1902, pp. 366-76.
- Stevens, G. B. The Priority of the Teaching of Jesus. Reformed Church Review, April, 1902, pp. 217-19.
- CROSKERY, J. Recent Discussions on the Meaning of the Title "Son of Man." Expository Times, May, 1902, pp. 351-5.

A résumé of the interpretations of this title recently advocated by Baldensperger, A. Meyer, Lietzmann, Wellhausen, Dalman, and Fiebig. The important defense by Schmiedel, in the *Protestantische Monatshefte*, of the higher significance of the title as represented by the present common view of its meaning, might well have received notice in this review.

- Pick, Bernhard. "Life of Jesus" Literature in the Nineteenth Century. Homiletic Review, May, June, 1902, pp. 407-12, 504-9.
- MELTZER, H. Von Kephas gesehen—Simoni erschienen. Protestantische Monatshefte, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 147-56.
- HORN, P. Der Kampf um die leibliche Auferstehung des Herrn, I. Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 241-69.
- KASTEREN, J.-P. VAN. L'épilogue canonique du second évangile (Mk. 16: 9-20). Revue biblique, April, 1902, pp. 240-55.
- BELSER, Joh. Der Ausdruck of Ἰονδαῶι im Johannesevangelium. Theologische Quartalschrift, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 168-222.

In this elaborate article Belser develops the idea, already stated in his Einleitung in das Neue Testament, pp. 283 f., 310, 393, that in the gospel of John the term

ol Ἰουδαῖοι (occurring sixty-four times in the book) refers to the Jewish nation as a whole, which as a nation had ceased to exist (by the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.) at the time that the gospel was written. For this reason the apostle John, though himself a Jew by race, could use the term in this absolute sense, and it had a different signification as compared with its customary use in the synoptic gospels.

Box, G. H. The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist. *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1902, pp. 357-69.

The writer argues that the true Jewish antecedent of the Christian eucharist is not the Passover, but Kiddûsh. He finds this view confirmed by the negative testimony of the fourth gospel (that the Last Supper was not a Passover), and positively by the order of the elements in the true text of Luke's account (chap. 22), as well as by the indirect allusions of Paul. The Didaché also points in the same direction, indicating that the eucharist originally preceded the common meal or agape. The fact that the accounts of the Last Supper in Matthew, Mark, and I Corinthians, chap. 11, have received a paschal setting, as though the Last Supper was a Passover meal, is to be explained as a primitive development under the influence of the symbolism of the passion, Jesus being the Christian's true paschal lamb. Mr. Box describes the Jewish ceremony of Kiddûsh, which was an ancient rabbinic observance used weekly in sanctification of the Sabbath, and on the eve before Passover, Pentecost, Feast of Tabernacles, etc. It has important points of contact with the Last Supper as narrated in the New Testament.

SMITH, DAVID. The Marvels of the Day of Pentecost. Expository Times, May, 1902, pp. 363-6.

Pollard, E. B. Stephen and Paul—A Study in Spiritual Heredity. *Bible Student*, May, 1902, pp. 268-74.

DAVIS, J. W. Antioch, the Second Center of Church Extension. Bible Student, May, June, 1902, pp. 274-82, 326-32.

GREENE, G. F. Barnabas, and His Place in Early Church History. Bible Student, May, 1902, pp. 262-8.

To the mind of the majority Paul looms up so large in the landscape of the Acts that Barnabas is by comparison dwarfed far beneath his actual measure according to the inspired history. It is probable that Barnabas possessed, within the sphere of Judaism, a providential preparation for his apostleship of almost equal value with that of the superior apostle. The function of Barnabas in shaping the events of the early church was: (1) that he was, humanly speaking, the discoverer of Paul; (2) the full establishment of the gospel in Cyprus was due directly to his efforts; (3) he served as peacemaker at the critical conflict between Jewish and gentile Christianity.

SELWYN, E. C. Dialogues on the Christian Prophets, IV. Expositor, May, 1902, pp. 321-43.

GREGG, J. A. F. The Commentary of Origen upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, II: Eph. 1:15—4:26. *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1902, pp. 398-420.

BACON, B. W. The Priesthood without Pedigree. Expository Times, May, 1902, pp. 345-8.

BLASS, F. Die rhythmische Komposition des Hebräerbriefes. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 420-61.

Professor Blass deals in detail with the evidence that the epistle to the Hebrews was written originally in poetic rhythm, and believes that this hypothesis is abundantly proved. He holds therefore that the rhythm forms an important instrument in the restoration of the original text of the epistle.

- MELTZER, H. Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament. Protestantische Monatshefte, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 104-14.
- Scomp, H. A. The Case Absolute in the New Testament, II. Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1902, 325-40.
- Schodde, G. H. Problems of New Testament Criticism. *Homiletic Review*, May, 1902, pp. 403-7.

## RELATED SUBJECTS.

#### BOOKS.

- SWETE, H. B. Patristic Study. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Pp. 194. \$1.50.
- GEBHARDT, O. v. Ausgewählte Märtyracten, und andere Urkunden aus der Verfolgungszeit der christlichen Kirche. Berlin: Duncker, 1902. Pp. 259. M. 4.
- \*Cheyne, T. K. and Black, J. S. Encyclopædia Biblica: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Vol. III, L to P. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 650. \$5.
- RAINSFORD, W. S. The Reasonableness of Faith, and Other Addresses. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902. Pp. 309. \$1.25, net.

#### ARTICLES.

Bible Reading. Church Quarterly Review, April, 1902, pp. 22-42.

The anonymous author expresses the conviction that Bible reading in England has seriously declined during the past two generations, and says: If learned industry and scientific thought, such as sacred studies were for too long an interval deprived of, have in their revival turned away any minds from the substance of divine truth by the interest and perplexities which surround the investigation of its vehicle, we are now to hope that sound criticism, having made good its claim to respect and gratitude, will more and more fully disclose itself as the servant of faith and devotion. Whatever is false or weak, hypocritical or ill-balanced, in a popular use of the Bible, is to be cured by a more thorough, a more considerate, and a more devout study of the same Scriptures. All that the Bible teaches is true, and all we have to believe of revelation is there taught. But we must remember that Holy Scripture is not designed to teach us on all those subjects to which it refers. It may happen that we have within the Bible the only information extant about a certain region of ancient history; also, the Bible is of unmeasured value as literature. But as Scripture it is given for our instruction in divine things, in matters of revelation, and connected with the salvation of souls. It is a disclosure of God's presence in men, a disclosure addressed from faith to faith.

- HOLTZMANN, H. Ein Palästinareisender als Prediger in der Wüste. Protestantische Monatshefte, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 95-104.
- LAGRANGE, M.-J. La controverse minéo-sabéo-biblique. Revue biblique, April, 1902, pp. 256-72.
- STOCKS, P. Zum Petrusevangelium, I. Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 276-314.
- DRÄSEKE, J. Zur "Refutatio omnium haeresium" des Hippolytos. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftiche Theologie, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 263-89.
- WAGNER, W. Wert und Verwertung der griechischen Bildung im Urteil des Clemens von Alexandrien. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 213-62.
- BASCOM, JOHN. The Supernatural. Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1902, pp. 238-53.

The miracles of Christ reach their highest intelligibility as spiritual power winning a new and deeper hold on the physical world. The spirit, ordinarily so checked by ignorance and held back by sin, begins in Christ to force a more beneficent way among things. There is a power in a pure, wise, and comprehensive purpose as yet but partially disclosed to us. The spirit heals the spirit, and in healing the spirit begins to heal the body. The kingdom of heaven is the renovating force of a new life. All real victory is a conquest of inner, spiritual power over external conditions. The natural discloses its true glory as the medium of the supernatural.

WHITNEY, H. M. The Latest Translation of the Bible. Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1902, pp. 217-37.

Speaking of the English Revised Version of 1881-5, and of the American Standard edition of this version in 1901, the writer says that at each new stage the English Bible gets nearer to the ideal; but no translation is perfect, the terms of no language exactly cover those of another, and the words of every living language are always shifting subtly from sense to sense, until even the best work of a translator becomes antiquated, and a later generation must go all over it again.

- WAGGETT, P. N. The Manifold Unity of Christian Life. Journal of Theological Studies, April, 1902, pp. 321-56.
- TRUXALL, A. E. The Authority for Theology Not in Antiquity. Reformed Church Review, April, 1902, pp. 220–36.
- MATTHIÄ, F. Die Frage: Ist eine religionslose Moral möglich? Theologisch beantwortet. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 161–212.

In this important contribution to the study of a vital problem it is maintained that morality does not find its true meaning and end except in religion. As an example it is shown that the Sermon on the Mount presents to the followers of Christ an ideal which it is impossible for the "natural man" to attain. The high demands of the moral law, the injunction to self-denial, the condemnation of hatred and implacability, the setting one's heart on spiritual things, these all appear practicable only where there is a transcendent, religious principle—or, to put it in another way, where the Spirit of God has been poured out upon the heart.

SCHAFF, D. S. Demonology and the Dark Arts in the Middle Ages. Reformed Church Review, April, 1902, pp. 156-73.

TAYLOR, JOHN. The Songs of Palestine. Expository Times, April, 1902, pp. 314-16.

Some idea is here given of the contents of Dalman's Palästinischer Diwan, which is a valuable collection of the folk-songs and popular ditties of the Arabs of Palestine today. Dr. Dalman spent fifteen months (March, 1899, to June, 1900) among all classes of the population, gathering up the words and music of the songs sung by the professional singers, the shepherds, the plowmen, the housewives, and the peasants generally. These songs of modern Palestine, handed down for generations and centuries, are of no small importance for the understanding of certain portions of the Old Testament, e. g., the Song of Songs.

Perles, Felix. What Jews May Learn from Harnack. Jewish Quarterly Review, April, 1902, pp. 517-43.

The writer holds that Harnack, in his Das Wesen des Christentums, has—without wish or intention—given the most brilliant justification of Judaism which could possibly be desired; he commends to Jews the reading of Harnack's book. The author, he says, strips from official Christianity, as the Church teaches it and the State propagates it, all those elements which Jews also refuse to acknowledge. He arrives in this way at a form of religion which approaches very near to Judaism; he has succeeded against his will in justifying Judaism, and he confirms Jews in their loyalty and attachment to their religion, in the place of which he can put nothing newer or better. It is a particular joy and satisfaction for Jews to know that they are spiritually so near akin to a man of the mind, the learning, and the religious earnestness of Harnack; and they will not be misled when he is often unjust to Judaism, for they have to deal with a man who does not offend them willingly and intentionally, but who is ruled by a deep-rooted sentiment of which he cannot entirely free himself.

But the absurdity of Mr. Perles's contention that Harnack advocates Judaism becomes apparent when one considers that what Mr. Perles calls "Judaism" is entirely unknown to history under that name. The type of modern Judaism which the Jewish Quarterly Review represents is a purely modern product, having divested itself of many of the essential features of historical Judaism. When a Jew gives up the Jewish ritual, the observance of the traditional law, the slavishly literal interpretation of the Old Testament, and the bitter hostility to Christ and the Christian Scriptures, he need not be surprised to find himself in closer proximity to Christians; this is not because they have moved back to Judaism, but because he has moved forward toward Christianity. Judaism certainly finds its true ideal fulfilled in Christianity, and we are thankful that an increasing number of Jews are recognizing this fact.

HANNE, J. R. Cornelius Petrus Tiele. Protestantische Monatshefte, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 114-18.





A SCENE ON THE BARADA RIVER NEAR DAMASCUS.

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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## PROPHET AND PRIEST.

Modern Bible study has its chief significance in the light that has been thrown upon the Old Testament. This has been the obscure region of Holy Scripture. No amount THE RESCUE of neglect could ever render the field of New Tes-OF THE OLD TESTAMENT tament history wholly unfamiliar. Limitations of time and space make it easy to see it all at a glance; and the importance of these later documents as the sources of the Christian faith still further tend to keep them fresh in the mind of the church. But with the Old Testament it is not so. Its wider stretches of time, its obscurer outlines, and its very imperfections as a finished record of revelation rendered the attitude of the church in part apologetic and in part indifferent. It was therefore a matter of greatest moment to invade this neglected region and make it a possessed and valuable territory. The rewarding character of this possession is today the commonplace of all biblical students, and the revival of interest in the Old Testament came not a moment too soon. When so well informed a writer as Mr. Goldwin Smith could declare that the Old Testament is the millstone about the neck of Christianity, it became evident that fresh study was necessary to reveal its true character and surpassing interest. We may be grateful to modern biblical study, and especially biblical criticism, for the rescue of the Old Testament from a growing neglect.

When the forces of biblical study entered the field of the Hebrew Scriptures in recent years, like the Israelites upon their entrance into Canaan, they naturally took possession of the most

fruitful portion of the land. This is the region of prophecy. Of all the provinces of that rich domain—history, legislation, wisdom, psalm, elegy, apocalyptic, and prophecy-COMMANDING the last is unquestionably the most alluring. It is POSITION OF PROPHECY the central mountain range from which all the rest may be viewed and valued. Old Testament history, in so far as it differs from the extra-biblical discipline of Hebrew history, is really the history of prophetic activity. From this consideration alone, if there had been no other, would the figure of the prophet at once become commanding. Deep interest was aroused in the men who became the leaders of Israel in the great crises of her history. The line of prophets, from Moses to Joel, has been the subject of prolonged and eager study in recent years. The faces in Sargent's frescoes have become familiar through the growth of this interest. The literature upon the subject of prophecy has grown to a vast collection, in which may be found some of the choicest and most rewarding volumes that biblical study has ever produced.

But that which has made prophecy of greatest interest to Christian thought in recent days is the discovery that it held within it the vital elements of Old Testament reli-THE PROPHET'S gion. The prophet spoke for God. He was the liv-TASK ing conscience of his age. He was the proclaimer of the divine will and the disturber of evil men. The moral and political reforms wrought in Israel were his task. He was the voice crying in the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord. He contributed the one element to the national life that made it unique and redemptive. It was not in sacrifice, or priesthood, or temple, or legislation, or psalm, or apocalypse that Israel fundamentally differed from other peoples. It was in that prophetic ministry which pointed out the ideal and wrought at the task of gaining it. Without prophecy Israel would have been like the other nations which it was her great task to outstrip and lead. When prophetic voices grew faint, then righteousness declined and the hopes of the nation sank. When the prophets spoke with no uncertain voice, then the sharp antagonisms between right and wrong were maintained, and men knew the direction of

the paths in which they walked. The prophets revealed the will of God, and thus made clear his nature. This is the essence of religious instruction. Men want to know about God; to be assured that he is, and that he rewards those who seek him. If a prophet has nothing to say of God, he may well spare his speech, for men care not to hear him unless he can reveal the Highest. The prophets were the makers of Israel and of the Old Testament, and this fact has lent a peculiar charm to recent Bible study.

For in the last issue it is the bearing of the prophet's work upon that of the preacher that makes it worth the study. THE PROPHET AS We are not interested in the prophet merely as a MODEL FOR THE historical figure, or in his writings as mere literary PREACHER products. It is their religious value which makes them great, the sense of urgency which they disclose to us. Looking at the work of our Lord, we see at once that he stood ever with the prophets in spirit and message. His teachings might take the forms made classic by the wise men; his conduct might conform to the legal sanctions laid down by the priests. But the prophets were the models of Jesus, in so far as he drew inspiration from the past. This fact cannot fail to have immense significance to the Christian preacher. He wishes first of all to be like his Lord. The mind that was in Christ Jesus must be his. Then, too, he sees that the great men of the church have been those of the prophetic spirit. Paul, Augustine, Bernard, Savonarola, Wycliffe, Luther, Calvin, Wesley, Spurgeon, Brooks, were spiritual heirs of "the goodly fellowship of the prophets." Especially did this phase of the minister's task emerge from the conflicts of the Reformation period. The Protestant preachers departed radically from the priestly ideals of the mother-church, and catching something of the fire and passion of the prophets lifted their voices like trumpets against the sins of the time, and proclaimed with urgency the day of the Lord. This has been the commanding note of Protestant preaching, and in no small degree of that preaching which has been most effective in the Roman Catholic church. The minister must be a defender of the truth, a foe of all unrighteousness in social

or political life, an interpreter of God to men, speaking for the living to the dead. The prophet is always needed in the church. It will be an unhappy day when his fearless and passionate ministry declines.

Yet there may be a danger, on the other side, that the true task of the priest shall be forgotten. Of the two functions it was the earlier, and its representatives were far IMPORTANCE OF more numerous. It is to be feared that in the THE PRIEST violent revulsion of sentiment against ecclesiasticism which marked the Reformation, the true priestly service in the church was largely cast aside. Priest and priestcraft became ill-sounding words in the Protestant vocabulary of dissent, and this low valuation they have not lost. However, reflection will instantly suggest the necessity for both functions in the church of Christ as in the Hebrew commonwealth. If the prophet was the preacher of righteousness, the interpreter of God's will for his generation, the incarnate conscience of the people, and the uncompromising foe of evil men and methods, no less had the priest an essential task. It was his to bear the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, to stand before Jehovah to minister unto him, and to bless in his name (Deut. 10:8). He was a father to the group of worshipers, and through him counsel was to be asked of God (Judg. 18:5, 6). The dual functions of teaching and ministering are assigned to the priests in a wellknown hymn: "They shall teach Jacob thy judgments, and Israel thy law: they shall put incense before thee, and whole burnt-offerings upon thine altar" (Deut. 33:10). It is not strange that a work so varied and so essential held in popular esteem a much more important place than prophecy could claim. It was equally certain that in the hands of indifferent or mercenary men it would sink to the level of a mere profession, and justify those stinging rebukes administered by the prophets. Nevertheless, the priesthood had its legitimate place, and it is significant that a New Testament writer who wishes not only to reveal the underlying relationship between the Hebrew religion and Christianity, but as well to emphasize one essential feature of Jesus' work, elaborates the picture of his priestly character and ministry (Heb. 6:20 ff.).

Keen sympathy with the prophetic ministries of the Old Testament, the remembrance of the abuses of the priestly system, both in Jewish and Christian history, and the NEED OF BOTH possession of that militant, aggressive, and master-PROPHET AND PRIEST ful temper which the leaders in religious progress have so generally displayed, may have the effect of obscuring the real service of the priest in Holy Scripture and in the modern church. But both the prophetic and the priestly spirit, at their highest level, are needed in the Christian community today. The figures of Jehoiada and Hilkiah are not unworthy to stand beside those of the great prophets; and Jeremiah and Ezekiel, not to mention the post-exilic preachers, were men who combined the priestly spirit with their prophetic ministry. The very quietness of the enterprises committed to the priests may have deprived them of that conspicuity which attended the heroic service of the great prophets. But none the less were they necessary to the religious life of Israel. If the prophetic denunciations of priestly greed and selfishness ring in our ears, not less stern are the same prophets in their rebukes of their recreant brethren in the prophetic ranks; and the priests have not left their reply on record, save in fragments here and there.

A priest is not necessarily an ecclesiastic or a ritualist. We need to cleanse the word of the prejudices which unhappy periods of church history have heaped upon it. He who has the priestly spirit, in the higher sense revealed by the Bible, is one who concerns himself with the development of the religious life of his people; a true father, a shepherd of the sheep, a teacher, a quiet minister to needy souls. If the annals of Christian experience fail to show so brilliant a list of names of this type as of that stern and unbending prophetism which is one of the glories of our holy faith, none the less do men of the true priestly spirit find their places in the story of the church. Such were St. Francis, Tauler, Melancthon, Fenelon, Robinson of Leyden, Baxter of

Kidderminster, Stanley, Liddon, Maurice, Erskine, Channing, and Bushnell. Such is every man who feels that his high and sacred function is that of a teacher of the mysteries of the spiritual life; who essays, with true preparation of heart and mind, the sublime yet humbling task of public and intercessory prayer; who fulfils in true measure the office of a minister in the house of God, and labors in the spirit of Him who offered up the evening sacrifice of the world. Every minister of the gospel must be both prophet and priest. In the ideal sense every Christian is such. But upon those who are called to leadership in the church, however small the company they lead, rest in particular the obligations and privileges of this twofold service. Here stand also the teachers in the Sunday school, and all who have in their charge the cure of souls. To hold in balanced regard the tasks of prophet and priest, to warn, convince, and persuade, and at the same time to comfort, teach, and guard, are the coequal functions of the shepherd of the flock.

## SUMMER IN PALESTINE AND SYRIA.

By FREDERICK JONES BLISS, Ph.D., Beirût, Syria.

I AM moved to write this paper by the thought that many readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD probably feel that a visit to Palestine must necessarily be made in the winter or spring. That this idea is widespread is proved by the almost entire lack of tourists in this country during the summer season—the one season of the year when travel is practicable for college professors, ministers, and school-teachers; in a word, for those most thoroughly prepared to benefit by a visit to the Holy Land.

It is my aim to prove that this view is erroneous. Like almost all errors, it contains a germ of truth. Summer travel in Palestine has been attended with disastrous results, such as sunstroke and fever. Such results, however, may be almost always traced to a failure to observe a few simple precautions made necessary by the climate. To a traveler who insists upon rushing through the country at full speed, upon carrying out a fixed program no matter what the weather may be, upon neglecting the warnings of fatigue, and upon covering his head only in the way he has been accustomed to protect it—to such a traveler I say: "Don't come to Syria in summer." But to one who is willing to take matters a little more leisurely and to adapt himself to somewhat new conditions of life, to him I say: "Read the facts I present in this paper, consider the advice given, and then decide for yourself."

Tourists to Palestine may be roughly divided into four classes: those who visit only Jerusalem and vicinity; those who, after making the Jerusalem trip, proceed by sea from Jaffa to Haifa on the Galilee tour; those who, after visiting Jerusalem and Galilee, as just described, take the steamer from Haifa to Beirût on the Baalbek-Damascus tour; and those who take in all

these places, but make the entire journey by land, thus visiting many intermediate points, such as Samaria, Cæsarea Philippi, etc. I propose to show that of these four itineraries three are perfectly practicable in summer.

Steamers usually arrive at Jaffa in the early morning. The summer tourist will not be pleasantly impressed by the hot,



THE VILLAGE OF HASRÛN, IN THE LEBANON MOUNTAINS.

moist atmosphere, as he proceeds to the hotel. The sun beats down on his head with the direct force of a policeman's lantern. Once indoors, however, he will feel a decided relief. He begins to learn that Palestine shows him a greater difference than he is accustomed to between sun temperature and shade temperature. This lesson is again impressed upon him when he proceeds to the station to take the two o'clock train to Jerusalem. The long ride across the plain of Sharon—so green in the spring, so arid and brown in the summer—may suggest doubts as to the wisdom of his choice of season. But at last the train enters the Wady

eṣ-Ṣurar (the valley of Sorek) and, following its many windings, slowly mounts to the station of Bittîr set in a garden of brilliant green and surrounded by terraced slopes rich with vines. The air grows drier and cooler every moment, and as the train approaches Jerusalem the traveler will do well to put on his overcoat.



VIEW FROM JENIN ACROSS THE PLAIN OF ESDRAELON TO THE GALILEAN HILLS.

Jerusalem stands 2,500 feet above sea-level. For the summer months of 1896 the mean shade temperature (Fahrenheit) at 9 A. M. was as follows: June, 71°9; July, 76°0; August, 80°4. The maximum temperature at the same hour was reached in a day in August when the thermometer read 103°. The temperature reached or exceeded 90° four days in June, six days in July, and seventeen days in August. The lowest temperature at the same hour in August was 69°5; in July, 65°5. These statistics are enough to show that, while the summer heat

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, January, 1898, pp. 66 ff.

of Jerusalem may at times be great, it is by no means continuous. I have passed several summers in the city, and during two years excavated the whole season through. One year I noticed that the warm and cool spells had a certain regularity: three days of cool west wind almost always following three days of hot sirocco from the east. During other years this alternaton



MOUNT CARMEL.

was more irregular. And in this irregularity danger lies. No matter how fierce the heat in the afternoon when the traveler starts out on an excursion, he should take with him a wrap as a protection against a possible drop in the temperature at nightfall. Otherwise he may contract a sudden chill very apt to bring on fever. I trace my immunity from the ordinary Jerusalem fevers to this simple precaution.

During the hot spells the tourist would do wisely to rise early and to return to the hotel by ten o'clock. Thus on the warm days most of the local sites may be visited, and the

nearer excursions, such as Bethlehem, the Convent of the Cross, etc., may be made. Walking is more fatiguing than it is in America, and it is well to make use of donkeys. During the cool spells a large part of the day may be safely devoted to sight-seeing, provided that the sight-seer knows how to stop when he is tired. A cool day should be chosen for the longer



SITE OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF CÆSAREA.

excursion to Hebron, or to the Frank Mountain and the so-called Cave of Adullam. The weather should be consulted in planning the trip to the Jordan and the Dead Sea, which is practically a plunge into the torrid zone, as the latter is 1,300 feet below sea-level. One who has proved himself to be peculiarly sensitive to the heat should omit this excursion, contenting himself with a sunset view of the region from the Mount of Olives. And he may well be content! About him stretches a wonderful panorama. The east horizon is bounded by the mysterious mountains of Moab—their tops forming an almost



unbroken straight line; their sides cleft by sharp ravines into fine, bold masses of rock; their feet bathed by the Dead Sea, whose surface shows a dense blue, brilliant but impenetrable. To the north lies the cleft of the Jordan, marked by a narrow streak of green. The foreground is formed by the wilderness of Judea, barren and dull at high-noon, but transfigured by



RUINS OF THE FORTRESS OF MASADA.

the evening light into every shade of brown and yellow and chocolate.

To those who feel able to take this hot trip I would recommend the program followed by a friend of mine last summer. Leaving Jerusalem by carriage at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, he arrived at Jericho some time after sunset. The next morning he started at four and had a bath in the Dead Sea not long after sunrise. Returning by way of the Jordan, he reached the Jericho hotel by ten o'clock, and there remained till late in the afternoon. Thus traveler and horses were rested for the

long climb back to Jerusalem in the cool of the evening. Naturally a full moon adds much to the interest of this excursion.

The Galilee trips are equally feasible, provided that the same leisurely methods are adopted. As stated above, passengers are conveyed to Haifa, at the foot of Mount Carmel, by steamer from Jaffa. A short stay at the German hotel, beautifully situated on Carmel, 900 feet above the sea, will enable the tourist to explore the convent, and to make carriage excursions to Acre and to the crusading fortress of Athlît. Nazareth is reached by carriage or on horseback. This town is about 1,400 feet above the sea, but as it lies in a hollow, shut off by the hills from the western breezes, it is apt to be hot. By traveling in the late afternoon and early morning hours the discomforts of the descent into the hot basin of the Sea of Galilee may be considerably alleviated. Mount Tabor may also be visited.

Returning to Haifa, our summer traveler next embarks for Beirût. The railway to Damascus carries him across a pass over 4,000 feet high, and shows him some of the beauties of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges. Damascus has an elevation very slightly lower than that of Jerusalem, but the double wall of mountains between it and the sea renders it considerably hotter. For example, foreigners resident in the country never choose Damascus as a summer resort, though many take this season for a prolonged stay in Jerusalem. However, as the chief interest of Damascus centers in its cool, arcaded bazaars, into which the sun never penetrates summer or winter, the tourist will be fairly comfortable. The extra-mural excursions are all short, and may be made toward sunset.

By the time this article is in print a branch line from the Beirût-Damascus railway will probably be open as far as Baalbek. The important excavations now conducted there by the Germans are monthly adding to the interest of the wonderful temples.

Having shown how much of the country ordinarily visited in the winter and spring can be safely seen in the summer, we may now mention the places which are practically impossible for the regular tourist season. Hermon and the cedars should not be attempted before May, on account of the snows, and June is far safer. But the summer visitor to Baalbek will find the cedar trip a simple affair. A ride of six or seven hours will bring him to the lofty pass of the Lebanon, whence he can look down on the cedar grove, situated in a magnificent amphitheater overlooking the sea, but 6,500 feet above its level. The descent to the grove occupies about an hour. Here he will find rude but



THE CITY OF HEBRON.

adequate accommodation, furnished by an enterprising man from a neighboring village, who has set up a hotel in tents. He is almost sure to find, also, plenty of congenial company in the camps of missionaries and teachers from the Syrian Protestant College of Beirût, who sometimes pass their holidays here, gaining strength and vigor in the magnificent air. Two or three days may be profitably spent in visiting the ancient convents of the Kadisha valley, and in exploring the highest Lebanon peaks, where the snow is—in places—perpetual. Should he be tempted to explore the Lebanon further, he may find excellent hotels at half a dozen villages on the lower ridges, easily accessible from

Beirût. For the trip to Hermon a private camp is recommended, though very rough accommodation may be found in the villages.

But the summer season offers other advantages besides the opportunity to visit the high mountain regions. In the first place, the hotels (with the exception of those in the Lebanon) are practically empty, and hence low rates may easily be secured. By judicious management, horses and carriages may be hired more cheaply than in the spring. All sorts of wares may be bought at a discount. Again, as practically no rain falls between the first of May and the first of September, a serious source of interruption to travel is avoided. It has come over me often to wonder, when I have seen the Jerusalem hotel in February or March filled with tourists gloomily hugging the stoves while the rain dashed against the window panes, why these people did not choose the slight discomforts of a summer season instead of the exposure and delays of the cold winter! In summer the landing at Jaffa may always be made. But during the winter storms I have known a traveler bound from Egypt to Jerusalem to be carried past Jaffa to Beirût, to be carried back to Egypt, to re-embark for Jaffa, only to find himself once more in Beirût, with Jerusalem as far away as ever!

It remains to point out to the intending summer tourist what routes he should avoid. The journey through Philistia, the land trips from Jerusalem to Nazareth via Samaria, and from Nazareth to Damascus via Banias, had best be postponed to another visit, either in the spring or autumn, or to a second summer season, when he shall have thoroughly learned by the experiences of his first trip the risks attendant upon summer travel and the precautions that should be taken.

## WHAT WAS THE SIGN OF JONAH?

By Professor Benjamin W. Bacon, D.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

At first sight the question seems needless, since the gospels themselves offer a solution of the riddle. But the difficulty here is an embarras de richesse, since the two principal accounts of this discourse of Jesus concerning the sign of Jonah, Matt. 12:38-42 = Luke 11:16, 29-32, have each a verse which purports to solve it, but of the two each is quite incompatible with the other. Moreover, we have elsewhere an equally authoritative, but independent, account of the same challenge and answer in two versions (Mark 8:11-13 = Matt. 16:1-4) in which the enigma is left unsolved. In fact, the curt form of statement employed in this case by the evangelist, "But he answered and said unto them, A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given it but the sign of Jonah; and he left them and departed," seems rather to imply that no explanation was vouchsafed. This briefer version we will designate the "Markan," since in Matt. 16: 1-41 it is mainly dependent on Mark. The other and longer version, found in Matthew and Luke, and as much fuller in its report of the discourse as it is meager in the matter of incident, we may designate the "Logian," from the Matthæan compilation of logia now generally admitted to underlie our Matthew and Luke.

Now, it is true that the Markan account is far more concise in reporting the words of Jesus, so that no one would dream of treating its omission of the verses contained in common by Matthew and Luke as an argument against their authenticity. Moreover, the sayings which Matthew and Luke agree in reporting, namely, the condemnation of this generation by the men of Nineveh and by the Queen of the South, are perfectly consistent with Mark; for the briefer statement of the Markan report

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Matt. 16:2b, 3 is rejected by the best texts and is, in any event, foreign to the context.

can be supplemented by the addition of Matt. 12:41, 42 = Luke 11:31, 32 without the slightest incongruity. But with Matt. 12:40 and its counterpart, Luke 11:30, the case is very different. Not only are Matthew and Luke here mutually exclusive, but to add either to the Markan account would introduce a more or less conflicting element; whereas, if we invert the process and exclude the explanatory verse from each of the two forms of the Logian account on the basis of the Markan, we have an explanation of the origin of the two variants. They will have arisen as diverse attempts to remove the obscurity of the enigmatic saying on the sign of Jonah. In terms of textual criticism, we have a case of ternary variation, in which one form, the Markan, if original, would account for the rise of both the other two, Matt. 12:40 and Luke 11:30. Neither of these, on the contrary, if assumed to be original, can account for so much as one of the variants. Accordingly, on the well-established principles of criticism, the Markan account should have the preference. The facts were then as follows: Jesus, when asked for a sign from heaven, purposely left his reference to "the sign of Jonah" unexplained; as later, upon a similar demand in Jerusalem, he declined to explain the source of his authority, dismissing the scribes who challenged it with a significant though unsolved enigma (Matt. 21:23-27; 22:41-46). The diverse explanations in Matt. 12:40; Luke 11:30, of which at least the former has become a part of the discourse itself, are not intentional additions to the teaching of the Lord, but arose independently, as attempts to remove the obscurity noted. They became incorporated, the one in the Matthæan, the other in the Lukan, form of the Logian tradition, as countless other explanatory additions (e. g., in the Matthæan version of the Lord's Prayer) became attached to and incorporated in other discourses of the Lord.2

<sup>a</sup>An Old Testament parallel may be found in the two versions of the "Ten Words" in Exodus and Deuteronomy. In my *Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, pp. 112-14, I have shown that the verse, Exod. 20:11, which in the Elohistic form grounds sabbath observance on Gen. 2:2, 3, is an editorial addition. In the Deuteronomic form we have a similar addition, Deut. 5:15, but one which grounds it on the deliverance from Egypt. A parallel from the sayings of Jesus may be found in the

If, then, we may consider that the principle of Tischendorf, "prefer the reading which, if adopted, will account for the variants," establishes on this point a *prima facie* case in favor of the Markan account, we may take the following as representing our working hypothesis of the narrative in its earlier and later form:

Mark 8:11 (=Matt. 16:1), And the Pharisees came forth and began to dispute with him, seeking from him a sign from heaven, tempting him. 8:12, And groaning in his spirit he saith,

Matt. 12:39 (=Luke 11:29), An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign,

and no sign shall be given unto it save the sign of Jonah the prophet.

[Matt. 12:40, For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the sea-monster's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.] [Luke 11:30, For just as Jonah became a sign to the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation.]

Matt. 12:41 (=Luke 11:32), The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation

and shall condemn it;

for they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and lo, a greater matter than Jonah is here.

Matt. 12:42 (=Luke 11:31), The Queen of the South shall stand up in the judgment with this generation

and shall condemn it.

for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and lo, a greater matter than Solomon is here.<sup>3</sup>

But the considerations thus far advanced are far from solving the problem set. They establish, at best, no more than a prima facie case against the authenticity of either Matt. 12:40 or Luke 11:30, and even were this conceded, the main ques-

explanatory additions of Mark and John respectively to the logion on destroying and building the temple, Matt. 26:61 = John 2:19. Mark 14:58 adds the words,  $\tau \delta \nu$   $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho \sigma \sigma \iota \eta \tau \sigma \nu$  and ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον; John 2:21 explains by making Jesus refer to his resurrection, as here in Matt. 12:40.

<sup>3</sup> The very form of this prophetic utterance, in three lyric strophes, excludes the explanatory additions, Matt. 12:40 = Luke 11:30; for symmetry, if nothing else, required that, if the greater matter (or sign) than Jonah were explained after strophe 1, the greater matter (or sign) than Solomon should be explained correspondingly. Symmetry of form plays, in fact, a much larger part than we are apt to recognize in the discourses of Jesus. See, e. g., Matt. 6:1-6, 16-18.

tion after all would be: Is either of the proposed explanations of the sign of Jonah correct? If so, the exclusion of the explanatory verse as unauthentic will be of very small moment, since the matter will still be contained by implication in the context. If, on the other hand, both are incorrect, there will be no occasion for further disproof of their authenticity, since Jesus cannot possibly have wrongly interpreted his own words. The question thus becomes supremely a question of exegesis: Does either Matt. 12:40 or Luke 11:30 give the right explanation of what is meant by "the sign of Jonah" in the preceding verse?

As to Matt. 12:40 the case need hardly be argued. internal evidence against it is so overwhelming that on this ground alone the conservative textual critics Westcott and Hort cite the verse as an example of the rare instances in which we might seem to be justified in rejecting a reading which has the support of all known manuscripts. Yet the conservatism which led them to preserve the verse in the context just as it stood, was never more commendable. The business of the textual critic does not go back of the time when the writing in question received its final form; and the agreement of all known manuscripts is strong evidence that the verse has stood where it now stands since the time when the writing which contains it became the canonical gospel of Matthew. What may have stood there at an earlier time, when the work was perhaps in different form, is a question, not of textual, but of the higher criticism.

But as a question of the higher criticism there can scarcely be said to be an alternative. (1) Jesus did not, in the very act of rebuking the craving for prodigies, proceed to offer one in proof of his authority. (2) If he had condescended to take the low ground onto which his opponents were seeking to force him, he must have appealed to some miracle already performed, and not to one still in the future, a reference utterly unintelligible at the time. (3) Such plain and concrete references as this to the tragedy and triumph of Calvary are irreconcilable with the unpreparedness for the event subsequently manifested by all con-

<sup>4</sup> New Testament in Greek, 1882, Vol. II, § 368.

cerned. (4) It would be a descent on Jesus' part from the loftiness and spirituality which characterize his other interpretations of Scripture, toward the hair-splitting, word-conjuring methods of rabbinism, if he really made the "three days" of Jonah 2: 1, 2 serve as a kind of magical prediction of his own stay in the sepulcher—which, after all, was not more than thirty-six hours!

Hence, while as textual critics we should probably admit the responsibility of the author of our first gospel for this verse, as higher critics we must refuse to credit it to Jesus.

But the very fact that the case is so clear against Matt. 12:40 removes an obstacle to the claims of Luke 11: 30. Indeed, if we put the two verses side by side, as above, it may seem to require no violent stretch of the imagination to conceive our first evangelist, or some irresponsible predecessor, altering the words of the Lukan explanation to the Matthæan form. In reality, deliberate alteration of words which can only have passed as Jesus' own is a much less probable supposition than the filling of a seeming gap, or the elucidation of an obscurity by what seemed an implied explanation. Indeed, it would be in some respects easier to regard Luke 11:30 as derived from Matt. 12:40 than vice versa. In any event, it is far more probable that Matt. 12:40 was framed to supply an explanation felt to be lacking than to improve on one regarded as incorrect. Its exclusion accordingly still bears decidedly against the authenticity of Luke 11:30.

How, then, stands the case with this verse in relation to its context?

There is no doubt that Luke's explanation of "the sign of Jonah" is far preferable on this score to Matthew's. According to Luke, the exception Jesus makes to his refusal of the presumptuous demand is not a real exception. That wicked generation 5 must take him in his own personality as its "sign," and

<sup>5</sup>Luke the gentile seems not quite to know what to make of the epithet "adulterous," which requires a study of the prophets to make its meaning clear. Ancient Israel was denounced as "adulterous" when it wandered after strange gods. In Jesus' time the superstitious bent had not disappeared, but had taken a different form. Magic, necromancy, and an insatiable craving for miracle—always conceived as wrought by incantation through relation with angelic or demonic agencies—are the

repent on his simple warning of impending doom; for so had the Ninevites taken Jonah, who had gone to them merely as a preacher of righteousness, unsupported by miraculous attestation, with no credentials save the echo of their own accusing consciences. "God will not grant your presumptuous demand for a sign," is Jesus' answer, "save as I myself am a sign. For as Jonah preaching to the Ninevites, 'Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed,' might be called himself a sign—strange yet moving sight that he was to that great heathen city; so I too am a sign, coming and preaching to you as I do, 'Yet forty years and Jerusalem shall be destroyed."

Yet the very nearness of this explanation to the context is a weakness, for nothing is added. All this may be taken as implied in the end of vs. 32, especially if we follow the current English versions, "a greater (masculine) than Jonah is here." The Greek reader, on the other hand, might easily take the neuter  $\pi\lambda\hat{\epsilon}io\nu$  as agreeing with an implied  $\sigma\eta\mu\hat{\epsilon}io\nu$ —"a greater sign than Jonah is here."

Even were this the real meaning of Jesus' discourse, therefore, all objection to vs. 32 would not be removed.

But is this the sense really intended by Jesus? For many reasons, some of which I shall endeavor to set forth, I am increasingly convinced that it is not.

I. It could only be the evangelist, not Jesus himself, who would bring his own personality into direct comparison with the prophet Jonah, and to the relative disparagement of the prophet. Of John the Baptist, indeed, Jesus did not hesitate to say that he was greater than any of the prophets, but there was more than his mere modesty or sense of good taste to prevent his making any such public measurement of his own personality with Old Testament heroes, at least in the synoptic story. The fourth gospel, wherein Jesus' messianic claims are the center of discussion openly and from the very start, must be judged by a different standard; but the synoptic writers are, on the whole, true

most striking characteristics of the Judaism of the day. It is this hankering for (demonic) miracle, and illicit relations with strange gods, which is to Jesus "adulterous."

to the historical fact they explicitly set forth, that until the very last Jesus kept the question of his own personality in the background; and even then revealed the truth only to the Twelve, and under pledge of secrecy. It is, therefore, by no means a matter of indifference that the word πλείον ("greater") in the concluding clauses of Luke 11:31 and 32 (= Matt. 12:41, 42) is neuter, not masculine, and this in the comparison with Solomon as well as Jonah, showing that in Jesus' mind not the persons, but the phenomena, of the two ages are to be compared. The dominant thought is to rebuke that unworthy generation. In two respects it has shown its surpassing wickedness. It has been obdurate to a call to repentance more stirring than that which converted Nineveh, and to pleadings of the divine Wisdom6 more winning than those which brought the queen of Sheba to the feet of Solomon.7 The human agent, then, has no prominence in this comparison; it is the rejected manifestations of the divine mercy which have been unique in this age, and so condemn it. Not so, however, in the explanatory verse, Luke 11: 30, where, as already remarked, the personality of the Son of man is set sharply over against that of Jonah, in a manner which obscures the real sense of the comparison and really demands the masculine mleiova in vss. 31 and 32. In this respect the Lukan explanation is discordant with the context.

2. To justify the mention of the sign of Jonah as an exception to the rule that no "sign" shall be given, it is hardly enough to say that Jesus in his own person was a "sign" to the age. The thing in question was the expected portent of the coming day of the Son of man. To us, no doubt, there is no miracle so great as Jesus' own personality in his life and teaching; but even if we can think it congruous with his noble, dignified reserve to make this appeal by inviting

<sup>6</sup>On "Wisdom" as representing the redemptive yearning love of God, as of a father over lost sons, see below, p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> In three other instances Jesus makes unfavorable comparison of the callous disposition of his Jewish hearers with the teachableness of the gentiles: Matt. 8: 10, the believing centurion; Matt. 11: 20-24, Chorazin and Bethsaida unrepentant are worse than Tyre and Sidon, Capernaum than Sodom and Gomorrah; Luke 4: 226-27, Elijah and Elisha sent to the widow of Zarephath and to Naaman the Syrian.

his enemies to compare him with Jonah and Solomon, it will be hard to find a parallel to his putting of it in this form: "The portent of Messiah is Messiah. I myself portend the coming of that kingdom which I proclaim; for, if you look at me and my career, you will see that I surpass the most remarkable characters of Old Testament times, who could be designated as signs to their hearers." One has but to conceive of Jesus pointing to himself and saying, "Behold the divine portent," to see how improbable it is that he should make an exception, or even a quasi-exception, to the rule, "No miraculous attestation to a wicked and adulterous generation," merely for the sake of including under it his own miraculous personality. Surely it is more probable that he would appeal to the miracles of healing, as he had done in the case of the messengers of John.

But the matter admits of being put in a much more convincing light. Not only was there no occasion for making an exception which to his adversaries must seem forced, or at least supremely unconvincing; there was the greatest occasion for making a real exception of another sort. For we are well aware that Jesus was profoundly impressed with the feeling that the current expectation of a portent of the things which he announced as at hand was in one important aspect justified from Scripture, and in Jesus' view that promise had been signally fulfilled. The "sign" had been given from heaven, and had been blindly disregarded by a guilty and obdurate generation. That portent was "THE BAPTISM OF JOHN," a reformatory movement inaugurated direct "from heaven" (Matt. 21: 23-27), surpassing in greatness the work of the greatest of the prophets, and yet barren of results among the religious aristocracy (Matt. 21: 28-32). In John the Baptist Jesus saw the specific and supreme portent of the messianic age, the unmistakable fulfilment of the closing prophecy of the Old Testament: "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of Jehovah come, and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and of the children to the fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse" (Mal.

4: 5.6). But others were blind to the truth. Even the Twelve knew not how to answer the objection which would be raised by "the scribes" that "Elias must first come," until Jesus had made clear to them that in the person of the Baptist "Elias was indeed come, and they knew him not, but did unto him even as they listed." Nor was this all. The fate of the great forerunner was indicative of his own. It was written<sup>8</sup> that Elias should thus suffer martyrdom, and the generation which had so treated the greatest of the husbandman's messengers would not spare the Son (Matt. 21: 33-46). Because it had so treated John the Baptist, Jesus anticipated from this wicked generation a similar fate for himself; because it had turned a deaf ear to the thunders of the Baptist's warning to repent before impending doom, he despaired of a hearing from it for his own winning invitation of love and forgiveness. The rejection of two such manifestations of the divine forbearance and goodness was a portent indeed; a sign of judgment that must fall sudden and overwhelming upon the guilty; a deliverance and redemption for the "remnant" ere the last member of that generation had passed beneath the earth. In a word, we have two parallels to this Philippic against the evil and adulterous generation that demanded of him a sign from heaven in confirmation of his message. One is that which in Matt. II: 15-10 follows upon the panegyric on John the martyr-prophet. "Whereunto shall I liken this generation? . . . . John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, He hath a devil. The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold, a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners! But 'wisdom' is justified by her children." The other is that which follows upon the renewed and final demand in Jerusalem for his authority. Again he referred them to "the baptism of John" as a message "from heaven," and proceeded to pronounce doom upon those who had murdered the forerunner and were now conspiring to murder the "heir" (Matt. 21:23-46).

In short, we cannot suppose that the exception in Jesus'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In PSEUDO-PHILO, Book of Jewish Antiquities. See Independent, 1898, p. 1218; Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. X, 1898, pp. 277 ff.

mind to the rule that no portent should be given was his own personality, for this reason, if for no other, that we know he did make one exception; but that one was neither his own miracles nor his own personality. Darkly and mysteriously did he intimate the truth, but so that ultimately none of the disciples could doubt his meaning. Elias, the promised "forerunner of Messiah," had come. He was none other than John the Baptist, with his summons to repentance in the face of judgment, unheeded as it had been; the message of a prophet greater than he whose voice shook heathen Nineveh to its foundations. To Jesus the God-given "sign of the times" had been the baptism of John, "a greater matter than Jonah" of a truth. But the evil generation was blind.

So obviously does "the baptism of John" constitute a real exception to Jesus' conviction that no sign would be given, that two critics of eminence, neither of whom questions the authenticity of the explanatory verse (Luke 11:30), have endeavored, in spite of, or by emendation of, it to make the true application, as I have learned since presenting this conclusion to my own pupils. These critics, however-W. Brandt (in his Evangelische Geschichte, 1893, p. 459, note 2), and Professor T. K. Cheyne (s. v. "John the Baptist" in Encycl. Bibl., Vol. II, col. 2502) consider that the Baptist's preaching is the basis of comparison in both Old Testament references, that to Jonah's exhortation to repentance, and that to Solomon's "wisdom" as well. Says Brandt: "The words of Matt. 12:41, 42 = Luke 11:31, 32, correspond so closely with Matt. 11:7, 8 = Luke 7:24, 25, that I cannot but believe they have been altered from a testimony of Jesus to the Baptist into a testimony to himself. John was more in Jesus' eyes than the pliant reed Jonah, and more than the gorgeously robed Solomon." Professor Cheyne goes farther. He sees in Matt. 12:39 = Luke 11:29 a word-play upon the names Jonah and John (יונה and יותה, interchangeable, it would appear from Matt. 16:17). Accordingly he thinks Luke 11:30 will have read originally, "For as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so shall he [Johanan] be to this generation," and accounts for the alteration as due to the tendency appealed to

by Brandt. But these critics, in appealing to Matt 11:7, 8 as a parallel, overlook the far more important parallels in Matt. 11:16-24 and 21:23-46, and fail to account for the extraordinary variation of the Matthæan from the Lukan report in vs. 40 only, whereas in the rest of the passage they are almost word for word the same. In reality, as we shall see from the next consideration, they have perceived but one-half the truth.

3. The analogy of Jesus' kindred utterances on other occasions presents a phenomenon of vital importance. It is the twofoldness of the charge he has to bring against his obdurate generation. For a second glance at those already adduced, as well as others, will show that it is habitual with Jesus to yoke together the Baptist's reformatory movement and his own, the treatment accorded to his predecessor and that shown to himself, in precisely the way in which we find the two yoked together in our present passage. For, while the "greater matter than Jonah" -with or without the word-play-is surely the Baptist's summons to repentance, the "greater matter than Solomon" is no less surely Jesus' own message of redeeming forgiveness and love. Of the latter we read in this very same connection (Luke 11:49-51) that he compared it to "the Wisdom of God" yearning over rebellious Israel with tender forbearance, sending "prophets and wise men and scribes" to plead with them until the cup of iniquity of that generation seemed to overflow with "the blood of the prophets."

This coupling together of Jesus' own preaching and John's, its rejection and his own, as the sure token of the coming of the judgment of God upon "that generation," we have found already in the panegyric upon John in Matt. II: 2-19, where the generation which could be moved neither by the asceticism of the Baptist nor the geniality of the Friend of sinners can be likened only to petulant children playing in the market-places. It is surely not without significance that we find in direct association with this utterance: (1) the statement that John was the "messenger" of Mal. 3:1 (vs. 10), and even, in veiled form,9

<sup>9</sup> It is apparent from the form of Matt. II:14 (el  $\theta\ell\lambda\epsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\delta\ell\xi\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ), and still more from the subsequent statements of 17:10-13, where the disciples learn for the first

that he was "Elias which is to come" (vs. 14); (2) that he was greater than all the prophets (vs. 11); (3) the preaching of the Son of man brought into comparison with John's in its winning character and compared to the work of "Wisdom" (vs. 19) whose self-sacrifice is justified by its redemptive results; (4) a prediction of the day of judgment as immediately impending on the obdurate hearers of his message (vs. 20); (5) a comparison of guilt with that of heathen Tyre and Sidon, and Sodom and Gomorrah, as more conspicuously calling for immediate judgment (vss. 20-24). Such coincidences are incredible unless the course of thought in our own passage concerning the sign of Jonah be the same. But, if so, the supreme manifestation of the divine mercy to that "wicked and adulterous generation," which by its rejection of it has irrevocably sealed its doom, is two-fold. It is guilty because it repented not at the preaching of John; doubly guilty because it was obdurate a second time to the pleadings of the Son of man. That in a later denunciation Jesus should have omitted the more serious gravamen of the charge is incredible.

We need only turn to the corresponding denunciation of doom with which Jesus meets his final rejection in Jerusalem, Matt. 21:23-46, to see that there again the movement of his thought is identical. Again his authority is challenged by the religious authorities (vs. 23); again he bids them ask themselves concerning the baptism of John, whether it was "from heaven or of men" (vss. 24-27); again he denounces the rejection John's preaching had met from all save the publicans and harlots (vss. 28-32); again he predicts a like reception for God's last appeal for submission, now openly declared to be through his Son (vss. 33-39); and again and finally he pronounces doom upon the guilty generation which had slain the messengers of God (vss. 40-46).

In further instance of this habitual coupling together in Jesus' thought of the Baptist's work and fate with his own we time that Jesus considers the prophecy of the forerunner to have been fulfilled in the person of the Baptist, that there was not at this time any open declaration of the sort. As to current expectations regarding the coming of Elias as "witness of Messias," see my article in the American Tournal of Theology for July, 1902.

need only refer the reader to Matt. 17:12, 13 and parallels, where the fate of John not only confirms the identification of him with the promised forerunner, but becomes also a portent of Jesus' own martyr-fate. These must surely suffice to show that the two-fold condemnation of the wicked and adulterous generation that still clamored for "a sign from heaven"—a condemnation first by "the men of Nineveh," and then by "the Queen of the South"—was a condemnation for their rejection, not of Jesus personally, nor merely of Jesus in his twofold capacity of a preacher of repentance and a preacher of forgiveness, nor of John in a similar twofold capacity; but for their rejection of the two supreme manifestations of the divine mercy to Israel in "the baptism of John" and the offer of forgiveness by the Son of man.

4. We have, finally, the succeeding context of Matt. 12:43-45, the parable of the House swept and garnished, to confirm this interpretation of the sense. In Luke 11:24-26 it is true the parable has been given a slightly different connection and moral, seemingly contrasting the permanence of Jesus' exorcisms with the unstable cures of the "sons of the Pharisees." That this is not the true sense or application is equally evident from the nature of the parable itself, and from its explicit statement in the Matthæan form (Matt. 12:45): "Even so shall it be also unto this evil generation." The generation had experienced a twofold visitation: (1) a partial purging of itself by a baptism of repentance, leaving it temporarily open and clear of its iniquity; (2) a presentation of "the Spirit of God" (Matt. 12:28) to come in and occupy its rightful abode, which, however, being rejected, had led to the return of the former evil tenants in sevenfold virulence. Such is the necessary sense and application of the parable. But it would be absurd to say that Jesus is thinking here only of the twofold character of his own work; still more absurd to say he has in mind that of the Baptist only. It is the failure of the two together which is unpardonable. Under the terrors of divine wrath in the preaching of the great ascetic, Israel had sought to purge its house of the evil tenants; not indeed a deep and sincere repentance, such as

Nineveh's, but a partial, superficial, short-lived reform. For, having thus, as they supposed, "prepared the way of the Lord,' instead of welcoming the willing presence of his Spirit, they merely kept the place vacant for a time and then welcomed back the old evils to a worse reign than before. It is this twofold obduracy which is the ground of Jesus' predictions of doom on "a wicked and adulterous generation."

In view of all these facts our judgment on the interpretation put by Luke 11:30 on the enigma of the sign of Jonah can hardly vacillate. Systematic comparison of the kindred utterances of Jesus shows it to be incorrect; and, if incorrect, necessarily unauthentic.

To complete this study we should have one further duty: to review this great prophetic utterance of Jesus, thus stripped of mistaken explanatory additions, in its original form and significance. It would be strange if new light were not thus obtained on the vitally important question of Jesus' own conception of his mission, in comparison with that of his great predecessor.

But the inferences to be drawn from this comparison by Jesus of his own message to the mission of the divine wisdom—inferences which relate both to his own conception of his calling and to the subsequent development of the doctrine of his personality as "the wisdom of God"—must be deferred to another paper.

## THE CIVILIZATION OF CANAAN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY B. C. II.<sup>2</sup>

By Professor Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Hartford Theological Seminary.

Between the various peoples of Palestine and Syria, and between them and their neighbors, an extensive trade was carried on. Caravans are frequently mentioned, and one of the chief duties of the subject-princes was to protect these while passing through their territories. Merchants were exposed to perils from robber tribes and from wild beasts; but undismayed they journeyed constantly to and fro between Egypt and Babylon, and, it is possible, penetrated even into central and into southern Asia. Ships are mentioned both in the Annals and in the Amarna letters. Even at this early date the Phœnicians had attained the maritime supremacy which characterized them centuries later. A further evidence of commercial activity is afforded by the tribute lists. Nearly the same articles were presented by cities in various parts of the land; and as these articles could not all have been produced in the places from which they were sent, it is clear that some of them must have been obtained by trade with other regions. Thus we find ivory, which was distinctly a product of Naharina, sent as tribute by Cyprus and by the cities of Phœnicia, where there is no reason to believe that elephants were hunted. In like manner copper was furnished by all the towns, whereas it was produced only in a limited area. Lapis-lazuli and malachite, which so many of the Palestinian princes possessed, were both imported. The same is true of many of the gems that were taken as spoil. Gold and silver also, as previously remarked, must have been obtained entirely by commerce. The Egyptian conquest did much to promote the development of trade, both by securing greater safety for the caravans and by increasing the demand

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Concluded from the BIBLICAL WORLD for July, 1902, pp. 25-30.

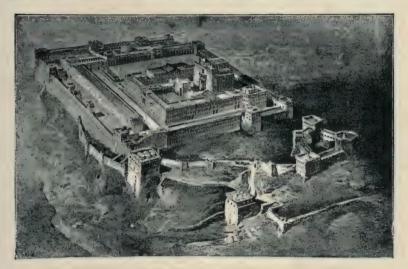
for Syrian products. A brisk traffic was kept up with the provinces; and in the peaceful period of Amenhotep III. the wealth of Syria and Palestine greatly increased. The picture that we derive from the contemporary records is of a rich and happy country, well furnished with all the necessities of life, and possessing a degree of luxury that compares favorably with many portions of modern Europe.

As media of exchange both gold and silver were in use. Silver is always named first. This usage, which is retained in the Old Testament, dates from a time when silver, as the harder metal to mine and to smelt, was more valuable than gold. In the time of the Amarna letters the ratio was probably 10 to 1 in favor of gold. Silver was in commoner use, and, as in the Old Testament, it was the general name for "money." The quantity of these precious metals that Thothmes received during his long reign is almost incredible. That such great treasures should have been stored up in small places, and that, after repeated plundering, they should be able to pay additional sums, is evidence of the remarkable wealth of the country. Gold and silver were not coined, although they were sometimes cast into pieces of a definite weight. Commonly they were formed into rings, which may have been used also as bracelets. In commercial transactions they were weighed, the standards being the ordinary Babylonian shekel, containing about 252 grains troy, the mina containing 60 shekels, and the talent containing 60 minas. Measures of length and of capacity were also Babylonian.

Tolls were demanded by the princes upon goods passing through their territories, except when this was prohibited by the general government. At the Egyptian frontier import duty was collected, and several of the Syrian princes complained that in their imposition an unfair discrimination was made. It is clear from the Amarna letters that certain principles of international law were recognized; Syrians living in Egypt had rights, as well as Egyptians living in Syria. One of the letters from Alashia, that is, probably, Cyprus, makes claim upon the Pharaoh for the property of a native of Alashia who has died in Egypt. When

injury was inflicted upon caravans passing through a particular territory, its ruler was held accountable. A claim was even made by the king of Babylon upon the king of Egypt for the loss of a caravan in the land of Canaan.

Architecture had attained a high development in the commercial cities of Phœnicia. The models were Babylonian, but there was considerable independence in the elaboration of



THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON, AFTER A MODEL BY DR. SCHICK.

details. Temples were built of stone or of brick, and were so massive that they served as fortresses as well as sanctuaries. The temple built for Solomon by Phœnician architects is a good specimen of the edifices that were to be found in all the larger cities of Syria at the time of the Egyptian supremacy.

Of the plastic art of the Canaanites we have abundant evidence in the captured articles. Among these are graceful vases and ornamental dishes of metal and of pottery. We read in the tribute-lists of lion-heads of gold, heads of deer, goats, and bears, statues of gold, of silver, and of ivory. The Annals speak also of tables and chairs of *kharub*-wood inlaid with ivory, gold, and precious stones; of tent-poles plated with silver and gold and inlaid with gems; of statues with carved heads inlaid with gold, silver, and ivory.

Several of the towns of Palestine were famous for the manufacture of artistic war-chariots, that were superior in design and in finish to anything produced in Egypt. These chariots were built of zaqu-wood, and were covered with gold, silver, or copper. They were inlaid with metals, or with amber and ivory. The weapons with which they were furnished were of bronze artistically inlaid with gold and with silver. Thothmes captured 892 of these in a single battle. Mention is made in the Annals of sixty-one painted chariots, and the chariots that were taken in central Syria were adorned, not merely with gold and silver, but also with colors. As tribute from central and northern Syria Thothmes received a variety of pigments. These statements seem to indicate that the art of painting was also understood.

Of the cultivation of music we have only indirect evidence. Two Egyptian musical instruments, the *ken'noru*, or "lyre," and the *natakhi*, or "castanet," have Semitic names,<sup>3</sup> and were probably derived from Canaan. The presence of musical instruments implies the existence of song, and song implies a development of poetry. The dance also seems to have been cultivated as an art, if we may judge from representations of Syrian slaves on the Egyptian monuments.

After the battle of Megiddo Thothmes carried away a company of artisans, and during his long reign no less than eight thousand skilled workmen were transported to Egypt. In the latter part of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth dynasty Egyptian art underwent a marked change, in the cultivation of greater freedom, in the use of animal forms in ornamentation, and in the introduction of certain decorative types. All these new elements can be traced directly to Syrian influence.

The art of writing was understood, as is proved by the Amarna letters and by the similar document found at Tell-el-Hesy. These letters were written on clay tablets in the Babylonian language and in the cuneiform character. Ideographs are frequently avoided; and, to facilitate reading, phonetic signs are preferred. The script of the letters from Syria and Palestine is

<sup>3</sup> MÜLLER, Asien und Europa, p. 306.

identical with that of Babylonian inscriptions of the same period; but that of the letters from Mitanni is similar to later Assyrian. This is interesting as showing that Assyria derived its writing, not directly from Babylon, but rather from Mesopotamia. One letter, written by a Hittite prince, shows a curious mixture of Babylonian with his native language; and in another letter, sent by the Pharaoh to Tarkhundaraush, a Hittite king, the Hittite language is used. A letter from Mitanni also is written in the language of that country. In general, however, no attempt is made to adapt the Babylonian character to the native language, although the glosses in the letters show how easy it would have been to have written them entirely in Canaanitic.

The fact that writing was done exclusively in a foreign language and in a difficult character necessitated a class of professional scribes. The scribes were not equally proficient. Mistakes are frequent in the Amarna letters, and there are times when the author is ignorant of the Babylonian word that he needs and is compelled to substitute a Canaanitish word in its place. foreign office in Egypt maintained a translation bureau. Difficulty seems often to have been experienced in rendering the documents, for we find lines drawn in red ink upon the tablets to indicate the divisions between the words, and a number of mythological texts that served as reading exercises have also been discovered. Kirjath-sepher, or Kirjath-sopher, as it probably should be vocalized, according to the lists of Thothmes III., may mean the "city of scribes," and may have been a place in which men were trained in the use of the Babylonian language. The Babylonian system of writing in Syria exerted a strong influence upon Egyptian orthography. The lists of Thothmes show an attempt at a syllabic, phonetic spelling which can be due only to the fact that the names were written originally in cuneiform and were afterward transliterated into Egyptian. From the time of Thothmes III. onward this system underwent steady development, and in the period of the Amarna letters we find its most consistent use.

The social organization of the Canaanites was patriarchal.

The father was the absolute ruler of the household. Wives were bought, and differed little from slaves. Polygamy was general, at least among the wealthier classes. Children were subject to the will of their father, and might be put to death or sent into slavery at his pleasure. The princes of Palestine give their sons as hostages and their daughters as concubines, and mention is frequently made in the Amarna letters of children being sold into slavery in order to procure food in time of famine. Slaves formed a regular part of the household. They were captives taken in war, debtors, or the children of slaves.

The old Semitic tribal constitution was still maintained. The people of one city were members of the same clan, and the people of a number of adjacent cities belonged to the same tribe. The chief of the clan was the head of the city; and where a group of clans inhabited the same district, the chief of the principal city was the lord of the entire region. The political unit was the walled city, with its circle of unwalled towns, ruled by a melek, that is, originally "a counselor," and then "a king." A kingship of this sort was usually hereditary in the leading family of the tribe. The chieftains of the Amarna letters never venture to call themselves "king" in their letters to the Pharaoh, but designate themselves rather as khazani or "chiefs;" in their letters to one another, however, they employ the name "king." At the time of the Egyptian supremacy Syria and Palestine embraced a large number of petty principalities. The condition was practically the same as that which the Israelities found at the time of their entrance into Canaan. The larger cities were ruled by independent kings, who were engaged in constant warfare with one another, except when peril compelled them to forget their enmities and to unite, for the time being, in common Such alliances were made repeatedly against the Egyptians, just as they were made later against Israel; but they never developed into anything permanent, and were constantly liable to fall to pieces through the jealousy and suspicion of the allies.

In the art of war the Canaanites had attained great perfection. They were clad in suits of scale-armor of bronze. They

wore on their heads bronze helmets that tapered to a point and were ornamented with a small tassel. The armor and the helmets of the chieftains were inlaid with gold and with silver, and formed no inconsiderable part of the booty taken by Thothmes. Shields were of bronze and were inlaid with ornamental designs. Spears, swords, daggers, and bows of bronze are also mentioned. Fighting was carried on mainly from war-chariots. Foot soldiers were also used, but cavalry was unknown.

The religion of Canaan was a mixture of old Semitic polydæmonism with elements of Babylonian and of Egyptian polytheism. Every natural object that displayed power was reverenced as divine. The heavenly bodies, wind, clouds, storm, and lightning received the homage that has been given them by all primitive races. Springs, and the trees that grew about them, were regarded with special reverence. Solitary stones, particularly meteors, like the black stone of Mecca, were held sacred. Caves with their mysterious darkness, and hilltops with their far-reaching views, made the Canaanite feel that he was in the presence of deity. The spirits of ancestors, and other nameless spirits, were also adored.

The gods were regarded as givers of the fruits of the earth and as the patrons of agriculture and civilization. Each tribe and each city had its patron deity, who might be one of the heavenly powers; the spirit of a local fountain, great tree, or sacred stone; or a deified ancestor. If one tribe or city, through conquest or commercial expansion, grew stronger than its neighbors, its deity tended to become a great god, and thus out of polydæmonism polytheism gradually developed.

In the Amarna letters the god most frequently mentioned is Addu, or Hadad, as he is called in the Old Testament. His worship prevailed in all parts of the land from Tunip in the north to Gaza in the south. He was a storm-god and was identified by the Babylonians with Ramman. We find mention also of Shamash (the sun) and of Ashtart (Astarte), a primitive Semitic deity, the original meaning of whose name is lost. Her symbol was the asherah, or upright post, and this word is frequently

<sup>42</sup> Sam. 22:35.

interchanged with her own name. Anath, Resheph, and Qadesh, the god of the city of Qadesh, are also mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions.

The question has been much discussed whether Yahweh,<sup>5</sup> the god of Israel, was worshiped in Canaan at this time. In the Annals of Thothmes a place called Beth-Yah is mentioned as early as 1500 B. C., and this has been supposed to indicate a sanctuary of Yahweh. Other proper names in the Egyptian records have the ending yah, which we meet in Hebrew as an abbreviation of Yahweh. When we consider the facts that Sinai was the original seat of the Yahweh religion, and that he was worshiped by the Midianites before he was adopted by Israel, it does not seem improbable that he was an ancient deity of the land of Canaan. In the Assyrian inscriptions of a later date Syrian proper names compounded with Yah are found. This indicates that knowledge of this deity was not limited to Israel.

The Babylonian gods mentioned in the Amarna letters are Ninib, Urash, Bel, Ramman, Dagan, Ishtar, and Shamash. Sin appears also in the names of places. The only Egyptian god mentioned is Amen-Ra, the great god of Thebes, who is identified with Shamash. To him, as the god of the state, temples were dedicated through Syria and Palestine. His cult, however, seems to have been more a matter of form than of conviction, for there are few traces of it, and it disappeared as soon as Egyptian rule was relaxed.

Deities were commonly called, not by their personal names, but by a general title, such as god, lord, master, or king. This usage seems to have arisen partly through fear and partly through ignorance of the names of the spirits that haunted particular localities. The most common title was Baal, "lord" or "proprietor," for male deities, and Baalat, "lady," for female deities. The Baal, or the Baalat, of a place was the particular divinity that happened to be worshiped there, either as a tribal god or as the spirit of a spring, sacred tree, or holy stone. Neither

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The pronunciation Jehovah (Yehowah) is due to the reading of the vowels of Adonai, "Lord," with the consonants of Yahweh.

Baal nor Baalat is a proper name, but is rather a title that may apply to any deity. The Old Testament speaks frequently of the Baalim, or "lords," meaning thereby the local divinities to whom belonged the various shrines and sanctuaries through the land. When the singular is employed, the reference is always to the "proprietor" of a particular holy place.

In view of the fact that this usage of the name Baal is attested by proper names of a later period, and by the Hebrew records, it is surprising that it does not occur in the Amarna letters. In the name Bel-garib, Bel is probably not the Canaanitish Baal, but the Babylonian god Bel. Instead of Baal as a generic name for deity, we find in proper names and in other cases Ilu, that is, Hebrew El, "god." On the other hand, Belit, "lady," is constantly used for "goddess," which shows that the corresponding name Baal was known to the Canaanites. The substitution of Ilu, accordingly, must have been due to the desire to avoid confusion with the Babylonian Bel. Instead of Baalat, we frequently find in the Amarna letters Ashtart used as a general name for "goddess." This is in imitation of the Babylonian usage of the name Ishtar.

The gods were conceived as inhabiting physical objects. Not only did they manifest themselves in living or moving things, but they dwelt also in bethels or "sacred stones," and in asherahs or "sacred posts." Bethels were numerous in the land of Canaan at the time of the conquest, and were reverenced by the Hebrews as having been set up by the patriarchs. Idols are mentioned in the Amarna letters. Several of the Amarna princes complain that their gods, that is, their images, have been forcibly taken from them, and beg the Pharaoh to use his influence to have them restored. This shows a complete identification of the gods with the images. Nevertheless, the gods were believed to be able to hear prayer and to exert their influence at a distance from their visible representations. They were the givers of all good things. They were the vindicators of oaths and the champions of justice and truth. In spite of the elements of naturalism that clung to them, there was much that was ideal in their character. They were worshiped in high-places, that is, sanctuaries placed

on hilltops. The simplest sort of shrine was a heap of stones that served as an altar. Dolmens, or stone tables, were used for the same purpose. A large number of these structures are still extant east of the Jordan, but only two are known to survive in western Palestine. Sometimes the altar was surrounded with a cromlech, or "ring of stones" (Hebrew gilgal), which served to mark off the holy precinct. Large cities constructed elaborate edifices upon the sites of ancient high-places. Temples are mentioned in the Amarna letters as buildings in which gold and silver were deposited. Priests and priestesses are also referred to. All these places of worship were adopted by the Israelites when they came into the land, and from the ritual of the Hebrew religion we may infer with considerable probability the forms that were practiced in earlier times. Sacrifice of cattle, sheep, and goats constituted a conspicuous part of the ritual of worship. In times of national peril, or when one was anxious to propitiate the deity, human sacrifice, particularly the sacrifice of the firstborn son, was not infrequent. This practice was adopted by the ancient Hebrews, and centuries elapsed before it was fully eradicated.

Summing up this survey of the general characteristics of Canaanitish civilization, we are impressed with the close similarity that it bears to the civilization of the Hebrews. As one reads the Amarna letters, one almost imagines that one is reading the Old Testament. The explanation of this fact is obvious: The Hebrews entered Canaan a wild, nomadic people, with no civilization to retain, and with everything to learn. Not only did they occupy the cities and the houses of the Canaanites, but they adopted their arts, their sciences, and many elements of their religion. The civilization of the Amarna period, accordingly, has a peculiar interest as being the parent of the Hebrew civilization, which in its turn has so profoundly affected the later history of the world.

## THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF PAUL.

VII. THE FAMILY.

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The conception of the church as a fraternity within the Roman empire makes it easy to appreciate the teaching of Paul upon the details of social life. He was setting up an ideal, not of what society in general should attempt to realize, but of what the members of the church should consider the proper customs for themselves. Thus his teaching in each department of social life is affected both by practical considerations resulting from the actual environment in which the Christian life was to be lived, and also by the regulative conceptions of his eschatology. To understand his teachings concerning the family, both of these facts must be duly estimated.

SECTION I. PAULINE ETHIC TREATS MARRIAGE AS A SECONDARY GOOD.

The family did not originate with Christianity. So far as we know, apostolic Christianity did not attempt any change in its form or ceremonies in the different countries into which it spread. Yet this by no means is to be interpreted as arguing that Paul approved of the Græco-Roman moralists in matters relating to the sexes. On the contrary, it is patent that he found in heathen society a distinct danger to the pure life which the Christian should attempt to live. In fact, the greatest danger that threatened the new communities lay in the social ideals and customs that prevailed throughout the Græco-Roman world.

Thanks to the over-zealous efforts of certain apologetes, we have grown so accustomed to the portrayals of the depravity of the heathen society of the first century that it is difficult to realize that an empire that had yet hundreds of years to live, and was not to reach its greatest prosperity for a century, was

neither decrepit nor rotten. Especially hard is it to realize the simple distinction between the capital and the provinces, and to believe that throughout the provinces there was a sturdy, selfrespecting middle class which, however its members may have enjoyed occasional gladiatorial sports, was yet maintaining a conventional domestic morality by no means greatly inferior to that of any modern nation. Just as the letters of Pliny tell of beautiful home life among the official class in the capital, the gravestones are noble defenders of bourgeois morals. Men were not all like the heroes of Petronius and Apuleius, and women were not all like that notorious matron who counted years by her husbands rather than by the consuls. Throughout the empire there was developing a new conception of the rights of married women. Gradually they had passed out from the restrictions of the old in manu marriage and were permitted to study, if not to practice, learned professions, to control their own property, and in many other ways to break from the restraints set by the old conceptions of the subjection of the wife to the husband. All this disturbed the minds of conservatives of those days, just as similar tendencies disturb conservatives in the present day. For those who were admirers of old Roman ideals, as many of the fashionable writers profess themselves, there was indeed sufficient ground for lamentation; yet, nevertheless, the emancipation of women advanced steadily. It even possibly aided the Christian conception of the ideal position of women as one of equality with men. But, unfortunately, the abolition of restraints seems to have been followed by no moral uplift. Alongside of this emancipation of women of the wealthier classes there persisted the old ideas of the veniality of sexual impurity on the part of men, as well as a growing tendency to divorce. The upper classes were not marrying, and the number of children in case of marriage was growing less, notwithstanding the government's effort to check the evil by the establishment of privileges for those who had three children. What was worse, there was springing up a sort of legalized concubinage that was neither prostitution nor marriage.

In addition to these tendencies in the Græco-Roman family,

there was also the recognition of prostitution as an element in the social life of all cities. It is impossible to go into this matter in detail, but the readers of the polite literature of the empire know only too well how heathen society regarded the matter. If few Roman philosophers would take the position of Cato, they seldom censured the practices he advised. The other and nameless form of licentiousness, which played such havoc in the moral system even of a Socrates, was not only prevalent, but actually a matter of academic debate. Plutarch has a lengthy dialogue as to the relative merits of the love of boys and the love of women. Such a fact as this makes very evident the public opinion in the midst of which the first gentile churches sprang up. Practices like these, abhorrent though they were to Jewish and Christian morality, were sharply distinguished by the ethical writers of the day from lust and ignoble passion of all sorts. No one would accuse Plutarch, for instance, of favoring orgies or debauchery. Temperance, or self-control, was the greatest of personal virtues both for him and for all men of his type. But chastity on the part of men was a matter of preference—a practice of a semi-ascetic morality. Confusing as are the implications of such a statement, the historical student must admit that the great and good men of the Greek and Roman type distinguished marital faithlessness from prostitution, and regarded what today would be considered licentiousness as morally neutral. That such a conception ever was outgrown must be laid largely to the credit of the Christian teaching we are considering. Chastity of both men and women, not merely the maintenance of the married vow, was an ideal of all Christian teachers. The triumph of this ideal is a tribute to the wisdom of those called to confront a problem which at the outset must have appeared all but insoluble.

A second fact that gave the early Christians difficulty as regards marriage was the Christian teaching itself. Jesus himself had taught that in the swiftly approaching kingdom men were neither to marry nor to give in marriage, but were to be like the angels.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, he had even said that unless a man hated his

Morals (Eng. trans.), "On Love."

Mark 12:24. "The sons of God, children of the resurrection," Luke 20:36.

father and mother he could not be his disciple.<sup>3</sup> Paul, with his persistent emphasis upon the "flesh" as the point of attack of sin, must have deepened the uncertainty of his converts as to the rightfulness of maintaining, much more entering upon, matrimony. The matter became so vital that the Corinthian church wrote to the apostle for light.<sup>4</sup> Should Christians marry, and, if married, should they live together as husband and wife? If one of the married pair were not a Christian, should the marriage be broken?

These were the questions forced upon the church by both its social environment and its own teachings. The answer that Paul makes to them is clearly determined by his general conception of the relation of the Christian to the world and the kingdom, and by his belief in the shortness of the time to elapse before Christ returned. It will be found in extenso in I Cor., chap. 7. His positions may thus be stated: (a) marriage is a lawful thing for the Christian; (b) it is to be justified wholly from the side of physical appetite, as a sort of prophylactic against licentiousness; 5 (c) for those who are able to withstand appetite, celibacy is preferable, since, if married, they will be likely to be more devoted to their husbands or wives than to the Lord; (d) the general position governing his teaching, he frankly says,6 was not obtained from any teaching of Jesus, but is given as his own opinion (γνώμη), as one who had received mercy from the Lord to be trustworthy. How far he was governed in this teaching by his eschatology is evident.7 "By reason of the present distress [i. e., in the storm and stress period before the reappearance of the Christ it is good for a man to be as he is.8

<sup>3</sup> Luke 14:26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The suggestion of RAMSAY, Historical Commentary on Corinthians, in loco, that the Corinthians were considering universal marriage as a panacea for the prevalent morality, can hardly be considered seriously. See MASSIE, Journal of Theological Studies, July, 1901, pp. 527, 528.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Yet even in marriage the husband and wife are to live apart occasionally for religious growth, I Cor. 7:5.

<sup>6 1</sup> Cor. 7:25. 7 1 Cor. 7:26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> TEICHMANN, *Die paulinische Vorstellung von Auferstehung und Gericht*, p. 20, holds, on the basis of 4 Esdras 5:8, that Paul advises against marriage because of the

Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife. But and if thou marry, thou hast not sinned." Thus, again, it appears that Paul does not regard it as any part of his work as an apostle to develop a philosophy of marriage, or, in fact, any social program, for persons who are so soon to be living in conditions in which only the spiritual elements of life are to survive. Marriage he regards as a temporary institution, to pass away with the age.9

Yet it would be a serious injustice to the Pauline thought to leave the matter here. One must consider, also, the closely allied theme of chastity, so unavoidably forced into notice by any study of the social conditions in which apostolic Christianity developed. As we should expect, here is no mere balancing of two possible goods; far less a recognition of the moral possibility of any such question as that debated by Plutarch. No writer ever struck out more boldly at that laxity which, to modern eyes, is the worst feature of the civilization of his day. The most superficial reader of the opening chapter of Romans feels the heat of Paul's hatred of heathen vice. The matter in his treatment becomes one of the supremacy of the spiritual life, and the supremacy of the moral imperative found in the nature of that life. Brushing aside all casuistry, he puts the case frankly: it is a choice between living after the flesh and reaping corruption, or of living after the Spirit and reaping eternal life. The fornicator cannot enter the kingdom of God.11 Thus even here there is no appeal to law, either of Moses or of Jesus. The Christian must be pure because he is a Christian. Social ethics were never more directly based upon religion. No man could appeal to higher motives. Marcus Aurelius might summon the thought

general belief that childbirth would be especially dangerous during the period preceding the advent of the Christ. Such a view is by no means impossible, and becomes the more probable when one recalls that there is no persecution or other specific danger threatening the church at Corinth at the time of his writing these words.

9 Yet it is temporary only as the age itself is temporary. The society in which it is abolished is not earthly, but heavenly. As an institution it is as permanent as the age. Of that hallucination which has often overtaken good men and induced them to attack marriage, as an unjustifiable conventionality to be outgrown in the progress of civilization, he happily has no trace. Apostolic Christianity is no champion of free love, no matter under what euphemisms it may masquerade.

<sup>10</sup> Gal. 5:16-6:10; 1 Cor. 5:9.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Eph. 5:5; cf. 1 Thess. 4:4 f.

of Nature to assist him in early rising, but Paul made the Christian's union with God's spirit the basis for personal purity. "As for fornication, let it not so much as be named among you! 12 Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have from God? Glorify God therefore in your body." 13 Nothing gave him more anxiety concerning the churches in Thessalonica and Corinth than the danger that threatened in this regard from heathen society; and the great struggle in which the apostle engaged with the Corinthian church seems to have had one of its main roots in the unwillingness of the church to discipline a member who had broken even the lax conventionalities of heathen society. And it may well be noticed that the apostle demands this chastity of men quite as much as of women. Possibly one might say he was even more insistent upon it because of the attitude of the Græco-Roman mind to which reference has already been made.

Thus the family in the Pauline teachings appears a secondary good. On the whole it was wise, Paul thought, not to establish one for oneself. It is true, to be able to live unmarried was evidence of a special divine charism,<sup>14</sup> but he himself had a right to be married as well as Peter, yet preferred celibacy (or shall we say widowerhood?) and could wish that all men were of the same mind.<sup>15</sup> And this applied to women quite as truly as to men.<sup>16</sup>

SECTION 11. THE PAULINE CONCEPTION OF THE FAMILY IS ESSENTIALLY THAT OF HIS AGE.

If now we pass from the apostle's treatment of the relation of the sexes to that accorded the family as an institution, we discover at once that he is a true child of his age. His conception of marriage as a purely physical matter, advisable as a means of preventing irregular alliances, could hardly fail to be

<sup>12</sup> Eph. 5:3. 13 I Cor. 6:19, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> I Cor. 7:7. Jacoby, Neutestamentliche Ethik, p. 34, n., refuses to classify the  $\chi$ άρισμα of this text with  $\chi$ αρίσματα in general. His position seems hardly justifiable in view of the general position of Paul concerning the "gifts." It would seem as if he meant by them special and characteristic powers possessed by various believers, which in accordance with his usual tendency he explained as resulting from the working of the Holy Spirit.

<sup>15</sup> I Cor. 9:5 f. 16 I Cor. 7:39, 40.

accompanied by frank and unquestioning statements concerning the inferiority of woman in the family. It is true that "in Christ" there was to be no distinction, but not so in the church. There the women were to be silent.<sup>17</sup> They were to remember that the woman was made from man, and not man from the woman; <sup>18</sup> that veils were necessary still on account of the angels.<sup>19</sup> The husband was the head of the wife <sup>20</sup> and, supposedly at least, capable of giving her all such instruction as was needed by the weaker vessel.<sup>21</sup> The wife, finally, was to be subject to her husband.<sup>22</sup>

In his eyes, also, the unmarried woman was subject to her father. He could prevent her marriage, and as a lesser good he could permit it. After becoming a widow, however, the same woman was, in accordance with the spirit of the age, given new rights. She could marry whom she chose, only  $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$   $\kappa\nu\rho\dot{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $i.\ \epsilon.$ , probably, within the circle of believers. Later advice given in his name makes remarriage obligatory on young widows. At

Yet though he might thus treat the family as a secondary good, and though he might thus insist upon Christians conforming to the social conventions of their day, Paul's teaching concerning divorce is that of Jesus himself. The question as to the separation of married persons from unbelieving partners was a very natural one for Christians of the type of those in Corinth, and the matter was treated by Paul explicitly. Again he works from a general principle that is far more important than its particular application. Christians thus married are certainly to maintain the home for the benefit of each other and their children; for the unbelieving husband is sanctified in the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified in the brother; else were their children unclean.<sup>25</sup> Whatever else this last clause may mean,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> I Cor. 14: 34, 36. <sup>18</sup> I Cor. 11: 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> I Cor. II: 10. The meaning of this enigmatic saying is probably to be found in Gen. 6: 2-4 and the evil which sprang from the union with angels mentioned there.

<sup>20 1</sup> Cor. 11:1-16; Eph. 5:23. 21 1 Cor. 14:35.

<sup>22</sup> Eph. 5:22; Col. 3:18; cf. 1 Cor. 7:39.

<sup>23</sup> I Cor. 7:36-40; 9:5; 2 Cor. 6:14.

<sup>24</sup> I Tim. 5: 14. 25 I Cor. 7: 14.

it certainly exhibits strikingly Paul's regard for the unity of the home, and especially for the children.26

Brought face to face with an actual separation of husband and wife. Paul speaks in the name of Jesus: "the wife shall not depart from her husband, but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried or else be reconciled to her husband; and let the husband leave not his wife." 27 Here is the one clear instance in which the apostles quote Jesus as an authority in ethical matters, and it is worth attention that it is at the one point at which the social content of Christianity cannot change except for the worse. If there is anything in all the specific social teaching of Paul that may be said to have transcended the historical situation in which it was uttered, it was this concerning the family: the union of a man and woman in marriage is a primal fact of humanity; it is not a matter of contract, it is an actual status. Separation may be permitted, but not remarriage to other persons. Divorce is neither instituted nor permitted by New Testament ethics.28

There remains the matter of Paul's directions for the control of the inner relations of the Christian family. These are given so repeatedly as to indicate that the matter was regarded as of first importance. They are not quite in accord with modern ideas in some points, but are clearly such as would have made the Christian family ideal in the society of the first century. In general they are the outcome of the positions already described. Wives were to be in subjection to their husbands; <sup>29</sup> children were to obey their parents; fathers were not to provoke their children to wrath, but to nurture them in the chastening and admonition

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> On this latter point see also the position taken as to the saving quality of child-bearing, I Tim. 2:15; cf. 5:14.

<sup>27</sup> I Cor. 7:10, 11.

<sup>28</sup> It is worth noticing that this use of the saying of Jesus by Paul furnishes a critical control of the saying itself. In Matt. 5:32; 19:9 the exception clause παρεκτὸς λόγου πορυείας οτ μὴ ἐπὶ πορυεία is found, but not in Mark 10:11 or Luke 16:18. On general critical principles, therefore, the clause would likely be dropped, but the decision is strengthened by the absence of any such exception in the teaching of Paul. Cf. Jacoby, Neutestamentliche Ethik, p. 356. To the contrary (mistakenly) Mathews, Social Teaching of Jesus.

<sup>29</sup> Eph. 5:22 f.

of the Lord.<sup>30</sup> It is not difficult to see in these directions a modification, but not a destruction, of the parental authority so universally recognized in both Jewish and Roman civilization.

To make these essentially local and historical applications of Christianity universal and authoritative in matters of the family is to check the growth of the Christian spirit in social affairs at the limit reached by these civilizations. Such a check, however, so clearly possible only as long as one lived under the control of an eschatological conception soon to be made untenable by the failure of the Christ to return to usher in the expected messianic age, Christian history shows was short-lived. In the family, as in all things, it was the ideal element of Paulinism, not its specific application, that proved permanent. And in these matters, at least, most Christians are agreed. He would be a rare man who would today attempt to make the Pauline teaching as to Corinthian and Ephesian women operative in western Christendom.

But to understand Paul completely one must also consider his attitude toward the family as a social unit, wholly apart from its basis as a union of persons of opposite sexes. It is here that the apostle comes nearest to the thought of Jesus. It will be recalled that with the Master the family became the formal concept of the kingdom. God was Father, disciples sons and therefore brothers, and all who entered the kingdom were to become like little children. Paul, in his less practical moments, when he is dealing with ideals and not with questions of church discipline, has similar expressions. God is a loving Father 3x quite as much as a dread sovereign,32 and most beautiful of all the Pauline expressions is that in the Ephesian letter, "I bow my knees unto the Father from whom every fatherhood in heaven and on earth is named." 33 Other figures fall hardly below this. The church is sometimes conceived of as the bride of Christ; sometimes as a virgin to be kept spotless till the coming of her lord, The man who could so use a social institution can hardly be said

<sup>3</sup>º Eph. 6:1 f.; Col. 3:18-25.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Eph. 4:6.

<sup>31</sup> Rom. 8:14-17.

<sup>33</sup> Eph. 3:14, 15.

to have disparaged it, however much he may have regarded it as a secondary good.<sup>34</sup>

If, now, one were to summarize the apostle's teaching as to the family, it would be something like this: Except in the case of divorce, and then under the direct influence of Jesus, Paul did not attempt to introduce any new conception of the family. He rather treated heathen marriage from the Christian point of view, as an institution to be preserved. As a result he held up ideals for families in the Græco-Roman life of the first century. Only in so far as these ideals involve universal principles are they of importance to today's life. Here, as in all social matters, the letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive. The new Christian life, possessed as it is by the very genius of corporate expression, may well be trusted to work out, within the limits set by these general principles, such particular social institutions as it may judge necessary.

Thus again the application of historical criteria enables us to distinguish the essential and the pedagogic elements of the apostle's thought. Long hair and veils, silence in religious meetings, subjection to their husbands—these are but elements in the apostle's adjustment of the Christian life to a Græco-Roman civilization. So, too, his treatment of marriage as a purely animal survival. Under the domination of a formal and ethnic thought, he undertook to prepare men for another world. In his estimation the present age was hopelessly evil, its surviving animalism and such of its members as did not live according to the spirit, doomed to certain destruction. From this point of view, it was idle to attempt reform or to assist social evolution. Christians, though not to abandon this world, were to live as citizens of another. Thus the family was a matter of but secondary importance, and women, though ideally equal with men, were in point of fact treated as inferior.

In so far apostolic Christianity was temporal. But in this social teaching Paul was giving but an interpretation of something that he knew and preached as neither Jewish nor temporal;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> As a matter of curiosity, it might be added that there is no evidence that the Christian pastors performed wedding ceremonies.

and that something was the Christian life, born of an actual faith in God. This life it was that formed the basis of his moral teachings, and which, he urged, should be allowed to express itself in acts of love to men. Those who held God as Father would treat men and women as equal members of the new fraternity. And it was this essential Christianity in Paul that outgrew the specific social directions of the apostle. In his noble conception of the religious worth and responsibilities of a man's body with all its passions, in his insistence upon love between man and wife, in his refusal to regard marriage as a mere contract capable of dissolution, in his recognition of the rights of children—in a word, in his recognition of the domestic implications of the new moral and religious life, Paul was opening up the permanent force and ideals of all social evolution.

Although, therefore, formally the Pauline ethic was dominated by apocalyptic and eschatological concepts, essentially it remained true to what Jesus meant should be the result of his work—a moral life based upon religion. Formally, therefore, the church was but a group of messianists awaiting a kingdom that never came and indifferent to all customs of society except those that were evil; essentially the church was a group of men and women endeavoring to let the new religious and ethical life that had come to them through accepting Jesus as Christ express itself in the family and all other social relations.

And the life lived. Jesus was greater than the men who interpreted him, even when they interpreted him aright, and it is he and his work that we can now see formed the strength of historical Christianity. The new life must needs be expressed in, but it could not be reduced to, temporary vocabularies and concepts. It conquered them—the mighty systems of an Augustine, an Origen, a Justin, even of a Paul. And thus inevitably, because it was the social expression of a life, the church became the parent of a Christian civilization; the Christian woman of a Græco-Roman civilization became the Christian woman of a Christian civilization, and the Christian family of the first century grew into the Christian family of today.

## CONSTRUCTIVE STUDIES IN THE LITERATURE OF WORSHIP IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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IV. THE HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF THE PRIESTLY SCHOOL.

III. THE BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

§ 232. The Scope of the History in Ezra-Nehemiah.— Note that the narrative in these books (1) begins with Ezra 1:1-4. the decree of Cyrus permitting the exiled Jews to return from Babylon; (2) closes with an account of the activi-Neh. 13:6-30. ties of Nehemiah during his second visit to Jerusalem; (3) that it covers a period, therefore, of about one hundred years; and (4) that comparatively few of the events and movements belonging to this period are treated in the history, much being passed over in silence.

Observe the order of presentation: (1) The account Ezra 1:5-11; 2:1of the return gives the decree of Cyrus, a statement about the gifts sent to the temple, and a long list of the names of the returning exiles; nothing being said of the journey

itself. Then follows (2) the account of the building of an altar to Jehovah and of the attempt to rebuild the temple; with (3) the story of the successful opposition of the enemies of the Jews. (4) The next section

recounts (a) the renewed effort to build the temple, under the leadership of Haggai and Zechariah; (b) the renewed opposition on the part of the enemy and the resulting correspondence with Darius; (c) the completion of the work, and the festivities connected with the dedication of the restored temple. Then (5), passing

over in silence a period of about sixty years, the historian gives the story of Ezra's visit to Jerusalem, including the letter of authority given to him by Artaxerxes, a list of the names of all who accompanied Ezra, and a list of the presents sent up from Babylon for the temple. (6)

The last section of the book of Ezra deals with Ezra's Ezra 9:1-10:44. 134

Ezra 3:1-4:24.

Ezra 5: 1-6:22.

Ezra 7: 1-8: 36.

efforts to put a stop to the marriages of Iews with foreigners, and gives much space to Ezra's prayer in reference to this subject, and to a list of the names of those who had married foreign wives.

Notice that the book of Nehemiah (1) opens with Neh. 1:1-2:8. the account of Nehemiah's purpose to visit Jerusalem, and his success in securing the sanction and the support of Artaxerxes the king. Then follows (2) the narrative of Neh. 2:9-30. Nehemiah's arrival at Jerusalem, his tour of inspection made under cover of darkness, and his success in arousing the citizens to repair the walls of the city. (3) At this Neh. 3:1-32. point is inserted a list of those who engaged in the work, with careful indication of the special portion performed by each family or group; together with the efforts of the Samaritans to hinder the work and the measures taken Neh. 4:1-23. by Nehemiah to bring the plans of the Samaritans to nought. Thereupon (4) comes a digression concern- Neh. 5: 1-19. ing Nehemiah's championship of the cause of the oppressed debtors among the Jews, and his own policy of refraining from levying upon the people for his support as former governors had done. (5) The story of the Neh. 6:1-7:4. building of the walls is then continued by the story of various conspiracies made by the Samaritans against the life and the influence of Nehemiah until the work of building was completed and the city was properly guarded. (6) A list of those who had returned from Neh. 7:5-73; cf. exile is next included, this list being a duplicate of one given in Ezra. Upon this list follows (7) the account of Neh. 8:1-9:38. Ezra's introduction of the law and of its adoption by the people in public assembly. Then comes (8) a list Neh. 10: 1-27; 10: of those who signed the new covenant and an account of the terms of the covenant itself, with still other lists of Neh. II; 1-12:26. names. (9) A description of the ceremonies in connec- Neh. 12:27-43. tion with the dedication of the wall is then given. (10) To this are subjoined brief statements concerning the Neh. 12:44-13:3. provision made by Nehemiah for the support of the temple ministry and concerning the expulsion of foreigners. The narrative closes (11) with the reforms in the inter- Neh 13:4-31. ests of the temple and its ministry, sabbath observance, and the prohibition of mixed marriages, carried through by Nehemiah after his return from a visit to Babylon.

§ 233. Constructive Work.—Prepare a statement, based upon a study of the outline of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, concerning the purpose of these narratives, as it appears (a) in the kind of matter selected for treatment; (b) in the relative amount of prominence given to the various subjects; (c) in the places assigned respectively to Ezra and to Nehemiah.

§ 234. The Unity of the Books of Ezra-Nehemiah. Consider the following facts: (1) Some most ancient Jewish and early Christian writers speak of the book of Ezra in such a way as to indicate that they include with it the present book of Nehemiah. (2) The old Jewish commentators, e. g., Rashi and Aben Ezra, pass from Ezra 10:44 to Neh. 1:1 without any break such as is customary in passing from one book to another. (3) The Massoretic notes attached to each book in the Hebrew Bible are not found at the close of Ezra, but do appear at the end of Nehemiah, and there give facts showing that the Massoretes regarded Ezra-Nehemiah as one book; e. g., they declare Neh. 3:12 to be the middle verse of this book. (4) The sections into which the Hebrew text was divided by the Massoretes for use in the synagogue service show that they thought of Ezra-Nehemiah as a single book, one section being Ezra 8:35 -Neh. 2:1. (5) The two books are united in the Septuagint translation.

§ 235. Constructive Work.—In the light of these facts, and the additional fact that the two books treat the same period, are concerned with the same general problems, and furnish much evidence pointing to their having been edited by the same hand, formulate an extended answer to the question: Shall we consider the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, now treated separately, as a single literary production?

See especially RYLE, Ezra and Nehemiah ("Cambridge Bible"), pp. i-xiii.

§ 236. The Unity of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.—

2 Chron. 36:22 f.;
of. Ezra 1:1-3.
What is the significance of the following facts? (1) The closing verses of Chronicles are repeated at the opening of the book of Ezra. (2) Both works are compilations from various sources (see §§ 221, 228). (3) Both give especial prominence to genealogical lists (see §§ 223;

<sup>2</sup> So, e. g., Talmud, Baba bathra, folio 14, c. 2; Melito, bishop of Sardis (ca. 180 A. D.), cited in Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., IV, 26.

230, (1)). (4) The two works greatly resemble each other in general literary style and in their vocabulary (see §§ 225; 230, (4)). (5) The two exhibit the same absorbing interest in matters retaining to the Bzra 3:8-12; its service; e. g., (a) great prominence is given to the Bzra 3:8-12; Neb. 8:7-13; of. Chron. absorbing interest in matters relating to the temple and Ezra-Nehemiah and about one hundred times in Chronicles; (b) in both the musical service is emphasized; (c) in both prayer is highly esteemed, and hence is frequently placed in the mouths of Israel's great leaders; (d) religious festivals and ceremonies are described in detail by both; (e) the porters are mentioned as a part of the temple staff nowhere except in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles, in which books they are often so spoken of: (f) the Nethinim, mentioned frequently in Ezra-Nehemiah, are mentioned in no other book except Chronicles; (6) Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles come from the same period (see §§ 220, 227); (7) Ezra-Nehemiah takes up the history at the point where it stops in Chronicles and continues it until the building of the second temple is narrated, the two books, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, thus constituting a history of the temple and its worship from the time of the building of Solomon's temple until the restoration of worship in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah.

Ezra 3: 10 f.; Neh. 12:27, 36, 46; cf. Chron. Ezra 9:6-15; Neh. 1:4; 4:9; Neh. 1:4; 4:9 cf. Chron. Bzra 6:19-22; Neh. 12:27-43; cf. 2 Chron., 5: 1-7: 10. Ezra 2:42; Neh. 12:25, 45, 47; cf. Chron.

Ezra 7:7; 8:17; Neh. 3:26; 10:28; cf. I Chron. 9:2.

See, e. g., RYLE, Ezra and Nehemiah, pp. xxvi ff.; REUSS, Das Alte Testament, pp. 8 ff.; KÖNIG, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, p. 285; DRIVER, Introduction, etc., pp. 516 f.; SAYCE, Introduction to Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, pp. 29 f.; cf. Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments, pp. 537 f., 548.

§ 237. Constructive Work.—Prepare a statement discussing the explanation of these facts, whether (1) by the supposition that the two editors, working in the same period and upon the same subjects and with the same interests, used the same methods and arrived at similar results; or (2) by the supposition that the two books are really one, being the product of the same editor's labors.

§ 238. The Date of Ezra-Nehemiah (cf. § 220).—Note (1) the use of the expression "the days of Nehemiah;" Neh. 12:26, 47. does the writer not seem to regard these days as long past? (2) the use of the title "king of Persia," in view Ezra 1:1 f., 8; of the fact that contemporary sources when speaking of

Hag. 1:1.15; Zech. 7:1; Ezra 7:27 f.; 8:1, 22, 25, 36; Neh. 1:11; 2:1 ff.; 5:4.14; 6:7; 13:6.

Neh. 12:10 f., 22; cf. 13:4, 28; Josephus, Antiquities, XI, vii, 8.

suggest that the Persian dominion was a thing of the past in the writer's time? the words "of Persia" would be superfluous while the Persian empire was supreme, but entirely appropriate after its overthrow; (3) the reference to Jaddua, the high-priest, who lived three generations later than Eliashib, the contemporary of Nehemiah: this points to a time as late as the days of Alexander the Great for Jaddua, and the phrase "the days of Jaddua," would seem to indicate a date long past; (4) the reference to "the reign of Darius, the Persian," as a period some time past; it is generally agreed that the king referred to is Darius Codomannus, 336-332 B. C.; (5) the reference to "the book of the chronicles" which is said to have contained the register of the Levites as far down as the high-priesthood of Johanan, the son of Eliashib; (6) the treatment of the sources, which is such as no contemporary historian would have dreamed of (cf. § 229).

Persian monarchs use simply "the king;" does not this

Neh. 12:22.

Neh. 12: 23.

Ezra 4:6-23; 7:1-10; etc.

§ 239. Constructive Work.—Discuss the significance of these facts; and determine whether they point (1) to the work of a later editor, who inserted all these allusions to late history in a book that had been written at an earlier period, or (2) to the probability that the book as a whole was not compiled and edited until a time somewhere about 300 B. C.

See, e. g., RYLE, Ezra and Nehemiah, pp. xxiii ff.; DRIVER, Introduction, etc., p. 545; BAUDISSIN, Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testamentes, pp. 266 ff.

Ezra 2:1; 5:1; 7:1; 9:1; Neh. 1:1; 7:736; 12:27; 13:4. § 240. The Sources of Ezra-Nehemiah.—In support of the position that Ezra Nehemiah is the work of an editor who compiled largely from existing sources, consider (1) the many cases of abrupt transition from one topic or incident to another, an abruptness which is natural in a work made up of extracts from older works placed side by side, but hard to account for in a work originating from the same hand; (2) the frequent change from the third to the first person, and vice versa, in closely related sections of the work, without any indication of reason for the change; (3) the presence of two large sections written in Aramaic, without any apparent reason for the change of speech; (4) the presence of lists of names

Ezra 4:8-6:18; 7:12-26.

Neh. 7:6-73; 11: 3-36; 12:1-26.

which have no close connection with the context to which they belong; (5) the use of important names in Ezra 2:2; 3:2; such a way as to imply that they had occurred in some previous context from which they are now severed; (6) the marked differences in style and language appearing in various parts of the narrative; (7) the fact that all the other historical books of the Old Testament are compilations; for the book of Chronicles especially see § 221; (8) the allusion to the "books of the chronicles," Neh. 12:23. apparently a temple-register from which the editor obtained some materials.

4: 5, 6; 6:15; Neh. 12:22, 32.

As materials which the editor seems to have derived from earlier sources may be noted (1) the decree of Ezra 1:1-4. Cyrus permitting the exiles to return home; (2) the Ezra 4:7-16; 4: Aramaic sections containing (a) the letter sent by the Jews' enemies to Artaxerxes; (b) the king's reply; (c) the account of the building of the temple in the days of Haggai and Zechariah, with certain letters that passed between Jerusalem and Babylon with reference to it; (d) the firman of Artaxerxes endowing Ezra with such authority as he desired; (3) various lists, including (a) Bzra 1:9-11; the vessels of the temple; (b) the Jews who come back from exile with Zerubbabel; (c) the men who married foreign wives; (d) the builders of the wall; (e) the signers of the covenant; (f) the dwellers in Jerusalem and in other cities; (g) the priests and Levites; (4) the Neb. 7:73baccount of the adoption of the law and the new covenant in the time of Nehemiah; (5) certain portions of the Ezra 7:27-8:34; narrative which use the first person and seem to have belonged to the memoirs of Ezra; (6) similar sections Neh., chaps. 1-6; which seem to have been taken from the memoirs of Nehemiah.

17-24; 5:1-6:18; 7:12-26.

Ezra 2: 1-70 and Neh. 7: 6-73; Ezra 10: 20-44; Neh., chap. 3; 10:1-27; 11:3 36; 12:1-26.

7:1-73a; 12:27-43; 13:4-31.

6:3 ff.

§ 241. The Treatment of the Sources in Ezra-Nehemiah. -Consider (1) the form of the decree of Cyrus with Ezra 1:2 ff.; cf. reference to the return of the exiles as it is given in two different places in Ezra, and note the differences in phraseology and contents; is it probable that there were two copies of the decree in existence differing so much as these, or is it more natural to ascribe the variations to

Neh., chaps. 8-10; cf. Bzra, chaps.

Ezra, chaps. 4-6; Neh., chaps. 4. 6.

Ezra 2:1-3:1a; cf. Neh. 7:6-73.

the hand of the editor? (2) the fact that a large section of Nehemiah appears to belong to the memoirs of Ezra, being closely connected with them in the period with which they deal, in tone, and in phraseology; (3) the fact that the opposition of the Samaritans to the Jewish community is all crowded together at the beginning of the narrative, though, as a matter of fact, the dates given show that this opposition extended over a period of about eighty years and grew more and more bitter; (4) the fact that there are more than one hundred variations in the two copies of the same genealogical list, and, in particular, that the numbers differ oftener than they agree.

Consider now (5) the evidence pointing to the conclusion that Ezra's expedition really followed that of Nehemiah instead of preceding it, as the editor's narrative reads; e.g., (a) Nehemiah's memoirs make no allusion to any previous work of Ezra; (b) those who came back with Ezra seem to have taken no part in the rebuilding of the walls, as they certainly would have done had they been present; (c) Ezra's measures, especially with reference to intermarriage, all seem more decisive than those of Nehemiah, which have the appearance of being tentative; (d)the fact that, according to the editor's narrative, Ezra's law was not promulgated until after the arrival of Nehemiah, and that no explanation of this long delay is offered by the editor; (e) the fact that Ezra gives thanks to Jehovah that the walls have been rebuilt at a time when Nehemiah, the builder of the walls, had not vet appeared on the scene, according to the editor's narrative. What motive could have led to such a rearrangement of the documentary sources? Is it sufficient to say that it was for the purpose of giving Ezra, the priest, precedence over Nehemiah, the layman?

§ 242. The Style of Ezra-Nehemiah.—As indicative of Ezra, chap. 2;
8:1-20; 10:1844; Neh. 3:1-32;
7:8-65; 10:127; 11:3-12:26.

the editor's tastes and interests note (1) the large amount
of genealogical material he incorporates into his narrative,
giving lists of those who took part in the first return the editor's tastes and interests note (1) the large amount from exile, of those who helped build the wall; of those

Neh. 13:25; cf. Ezra, chap. 10.

Ezra 9:9.

who dwelt in Jerusalem, etc., etc.; (2) the similar fond- Bzra 1: 10 f.; 2:64-69; 6:16ness for statistical statements, as evidenced in connection with the above lists and on every other possible occasion: (3) the numerous chronological data with which his work Bzra 1:1; 3:1, 6, 8; 4:61, 24; 6: abounds. In connection with these characteristics, recall the similar features seen to have been characteristic of the books of Chronicles (see §§ 223, 224). Consider (4) the style of the editor's own contributions to the work as distinguished from the style of the sources used by him.

18; 7:22; 8:26 ff., 35; Neh. 5: 17, 18; 7:66-72.

0, 4:01, 24, 0: 15; 7:1, 7-9; 8:31 ff.; 10:9, 16 f.; Neh. 1:1; 2:1, 11; 5:14; 6:15; 7:73; 8:2 f., 13, 17 f.; 9:1;

§ 243. Constructive Work.-- Examine lists of phrases and words peculiar to the various sources, and read each source separately, as far as possible, in order that its literary style may impress itself upon your mind. Then treat the editor's own contribution in the same way, and compare its style with that of the editorial contributions to the books of Chronicles, with a view to the light that may be thrown by such a comparison upon the question of the unity of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

See, e. g., RYLE, Ezra and Nehemiah, pp. xviii f., xxviii f.; DRIVER, Introduction, etc., pp. 546 ff., 553; GEISSLER, Die literarische Beziehungen der Esramemoiren, insbesondere zur Chronik und den hexateuchischen Quellenschriften (1899).

§ 244. The Religion of Ezra-Nehemiah.—If Ezra-Nehemiah is the result of a compiler's work, the religious interests of the compiler must be looked for in three directions: (1) the nature of the subjects he selects for treatment; (2) the relative prominence given by him to various matters; (3) the religious tone of the material contributed by himself. In reference to (1) it may be noted that the subjects treated are all of a religious character, such matters as are not in themselves distinctively religious being given a religious interpretation, e. g., the building of the walls and the movement against intermarriages with foreigners. As to (2) we may note the great prominence given to the temple and its affairs, the important place in the community assigned to priests and Levites, and the large amount of attention bestowed upon matters of ritual, descriptions of religious ceremonies, and the like. Concerning (3) we observe the priestly interest dominant in the editor's work, and that

Neh. 12:27-43; Ezra, chaps. 9, IO. Bzra 1:2-11; 2: 68 ff.; chap. 3; Neh. 3: 4-14; Bzra 6: 16-22; Neh. 12:27-47; Rezra 2:40-63; 3:8-10, 12; 7:7, 11-13, 24; 8:15-20; 10:18 ff.; Neh. 12:1-26.

Ezra 6: 16-22; 7: 1-10; 8: 35 f.; Neh. 12: 44-47; 13:1-3.

the Priestly Code serves as the standard in all matters of ritual and worship.

In general, is there any appreciable difference between the religious ideals and feelings of the editor of Ezra-Nehemiah and those of the Chronicler (cf. § 227)? If not, is not this a strong indication of the unity of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles?

### § 245. Literature to be Consulted.

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### § 246. Supplementary Topics.

- 1. Make a careful comparison of the parallel passages, Ezra 2:1—3:1a and Neh. 7:6-23, noting and classifying the variations in the two lists.
- 2. Analyze Ezra-Nehemiah carefully, with a view to determining for yourself the sources of the various materials of which it is composed and the historical value of the narrative as it has been presented by the editor.

Cf. especially Torrey, The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah; Guthe, Ezra and Nehemiah ("Polychrome Bible," 1901); Siegfried, Esra, Nehemia und Esther ("Handkommentar z. A. T."), pp. 7-14; Kosters, Het Herstel van Israel in het Perzische Tijdvak (1894, Germ. transl. 1895); Carl Holzhey, Die Bücher Ezra und Nehemia; Untersuchung ihres literarischen und geschichtlichen Charakters (1902); Meyer, Die Entstehung des Judenthums; Schrader, Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1867, pp. 460-504; Van Hoonacker, Néhémie et Esdras; J. O. Boyd, "The Documents of the Book of Ezra," Presbyterian and Reformed Review, 1900, pp. 414-37.

3. Compare the canonical book of Ezra with the apocryphal book, Esdras I, noting (1) the materials common to both, (2) the materials peculiar to each; and consider the relative value of each as historical sources.

See, e. g., H. HOWORTH, "A Criticism of the Sources and Relative Importance and Value of the Canonical Book of Ezra and the Apocryphal Book Known as Esdras I," Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, Vol. II (1893), pp. 68-85; MOULTON, "Über die Überlieferung und den text-kritischen Werth des dritten Esrabuches," Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Vol. XIX, pp. 209-58;

XX, 1-35; BERTHOLET, Esra und Nehemia, p. xvi; SIEGFRIED, Esra, Nehemia und Esther, pp. 14 f.

4. Study the contents of the numerous genealogical lists in Ezra-Nehemiah from the point of view of (1) their origin, (2) their historical value, (3) their purpose.

See SMEND, Die Listen der Bücher Ezra und Nehemia (1881).

- 5. Study the descriptions of priestly ceremonies, and customs, the provision made for the support of the temple and its ministry, and all other references to laws and usages of worship, and note the points of contact with the codes of worship, with a view to determining which stratum of laws is reflected by the narrative of Ezra-Nehemiah.
- 6. Consider the fact that certain portions of Ezra-Nehemiah are written in Aramaic, and the best explanation of this fact.

See, e. g., BERTHOLET, of. cit., p. xv; SIEGFRIED, op. cit., p. 7; RYLE, op. cit., p. xx; BAUDISSIN, Einleitung, p. 283.

## Exploration and Discovery.

THE IMPORTANT WORK OF DR. CONRAD SCHICK.

In the death of Herr Baurat Conrad Schick, M.A., Ph.D. (Tübingen), Jerusalem has lost one of her most able and devoted biblical archæologists, a man whose long life was spent with rare single-heartedness in the interpretation of the problems of ancient Jerusalem.

Conrad Schick was born in a little village in Württemberg, in January, 1812. He was the fifth son in a family of eleven. From the village school he went to Kornthal, a kind of missionary training institution, where he learned Latin, and—as was the custom there—a trade, that of blacksmith. Later he went to the Chrishona institution at Basle, where he was studying when selected by Herr Spittler as one of the two Pilgrimbrüder who, as pioneers (so he conceived it) of a great missionary movement, were to go to Jerusalem. Before setting out, young Conrad Schick was apprenticed to a watch- and clockmaker, in order that he might thoroughly know this business, which it was thought would be useful in the Holy City. In 1846 he left for Jerusalem, and the new work was started. It did not, however, prove a great success, and before long both the "pilgrim brothers" had to find employment of some other kind, so that in 1850 Schick accepted an appointment as superintendent (Hausvater) of the House of Industry in Jerusalem—an institution established by the London Jews' Society for the support of recent Christian converts and young Jewish inquirers after Christianity; this position he retained for thirtyseven years.

Conrad Schick had at an early age shown an aptitude for making models. Before leaving Germany he had made a careful model of the tabernacle in the wilderness, and it was this gift which first brought him before the public. Immediately after the Crimean war the question of the repair of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher came prominently before some of the great ecclesiastics of Europe; and, in order to explain what was needed, Schick, who was then the only architect resident in the city, made, with the assistance of his young pupils in the House of Industry, some fine models of the church, which were sent to Constantinople, Moscow, and Stuttgart. These led him into

correspondence with some of the savants of Europe, who put before him problems needing his investigation.

Although by no means a scholar, and at this time chiefly distinguished by mechanical skill, he was a good observer, with trained experience in making measurements and technical observations. He took full advantage of the opportunities laid before him, and from 1866 onward he wrote and published many papers on every kind of subject connected with Jerusalem. His earliest writings were in German; indeed, to the last he was never much at home except in his native tongue. His first English notes were in the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement in 1877. As years went on, he contributed more and more to that publication, so that for some years past there has seldom been an annual volume with less than a dozen original papers or notes from his pen. During his later years he was definitely engaged by the English and the German exploration societies to make observations.

For many years Dr. Schick, as the only man with any suitable training, carried on the duties of government architect for the city, in the course of which he had unique opportunities for visiting every corner of the city. He was employed by the government to make extensive repairs in the Moslem holy places; and, in process of this work, he constructed an elaborate model of the Haram, or temple area. Later he made a model of the whole area, with rock contours, detachable buildings, etc., so that he could build up on the rock either the existing buildings, the temple of Herod, or the temple of Solomon. After he sold this model he constructed another, which is still in Jerusalem; and many visitors who have had the privilege of seeing it and of hearing it explained by the aged constructor realize what great knowledge, labor, and skill were employed by him in making the model conform to the descriptions in the Old Testament and in Josephus as he could best understand them. Difficulties in these accounts, or even contradictions, which would have staggered any ordinary man, were simply a stimulus to him. Each step, each window and door, had chapter and verse to justify its existence. The style of the architecture worked out by him was doubtless historically impossible; but the helpful suggestions of the work all must recognize.

The list of Dr. Schick's papers during this long period shows how entirely devoted he was to the study of Jerusalem; there is

<sup>&#</sup>x27;A list of all his earlier works will be found in RÖHRICHT'S Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae, Berlin, 1890,

scarcely one paper which has not the name of the Holy City in its title. He will probably be most remembered by his models, his book Der Tempelplatz, the facts contained in which (apart from its theories) are very valuable, and by his connection with the finding of the Siloam inscription. The larger number of his papers are of the nature of short reports. The most important among them are those on "The Water Supply of Jerusalem" and on "The Site of Calvary." On this last subject his ideas underwent an entire change in later years, as he narrates, and he came to consider the traditional site as at least probable. As a practical architect he has left his mark on several ancient buildings, notably the Church of the Sepulcher and the "Dome of the Rock," as well as upon a fair number of houses and institutions which he constructed. His archæological work needs to be gone over again in the light of recent discovery, and especially in the light of modern biblical criticism, of which Dr. Schick knew nothing. Many of his ideas were without doubt fanciful. But, if his writings can be properly revised and edited, the public will be astonished at the copious and important contributions which he has made to our permanent knowledge. Many things he has seen and figured have now passed away forever amid "modern improvements" and vandalism.

Dr. Schick received university honors from Tübingen, and decorations from no less than four crowned heads—the emperors of Germany, Austria, and Russia, and the king of Württemberg. Yet a more modest, unassuming, and quiet Christian gentleman it would be difficult to find. In Jerusalem he was beloved by all Christians of all churches, and also by Moslems and Jews. A visit to him and his temple model was one of the privileges of the modern pilgrim.

On December 24, 1901, he passed peacefully away, at the age of eighty; and his wife, to whom he had been united for over half a century, followed him ten days later. He leaves behind a large number of descendants, the children of his three married daughters, two of whom have made their homes in Jerusalem.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

JERUSALEM.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerusalem," in the Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 1878, pp. 132-76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>" The Site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher," in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1898, pp. 145-54; "Reflections on the Site of Calvary," *ibid.*, 1893, pp. 119-28.

## Westerk and Wesorkers.

#### THE PROGRESS OF BIBLICAL THOUGHT IN SCOTLAND.

A movement was set on foot in the United Free Church of Scotland last October to secure the removal of Professor George Adam Smith, D.D., from his chair in the Free Church College, Glasgow, because of the critical views concerning early Hebrew history which he presented in his recent work on *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of* 

the Old Testament. A committee was appointed to consider the matter, and to make a recommendation concerning it to the General Assembly, which met last May. The committee reported, through Dr. James Kidd, that in their opinion it was inadvisable for the Assembly to proceed against Professor Smith. A motion was therefore made by Principal Robert Rainy of the New College, Edinburgh, to the Assembly as follows:

That the Assembly receive the report and adopt the recommendation with which it closes, that it is not the duty of the



PROFESSOR GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

church to institute any process against Professor G. A. Smith, in connection with his lectures recently published. At the same time the Assembly declares that it is not to be held as accepting or authorizing the critical theories therein set forth. In dealing with the subject of this report, the Assembly desires to give expression to the unabated reverence cherished in this church for the written Word, as the lively oracles through which the voice of God reaches his children, for teaching, for comfort, and for admonition; and it declares its unwavering acceptance of the Bible as the supreme rule of faith and life. And while the Assembly does not feel called upon to interfere with serious discussion of questions now raised,

unless the interests of Christian truth should plainly seem to require it, the Assembly calls upon ministers and professors who may take part in such discussions, to take care that reverence for Holy Scripture should be conspicuously manifest in their writings, and to treat, with the consideration that is so plainly due, views hitherto associated in the minds of our people with the believing use of the Bible. Finally, the Assembly recognizes that the discussions in regard to the origin and history of biblical books, which for a number of years have exercised the minds of learned men, have tended to create perplexity and anxiety for many Christian people; yet, recalling the results of former discussions, the Assembly earnestly exhorts its people not to be soon shaken in mind by what they hear of statements regarding the Bible or regarding some parts of its contents. These will in due time be weighed, adjusted, and put in their proper place. Above all the fluctuations of human opinion the Lord rules and overrules, and his Word abides; "the grass withereth, the flower thereof fadeth away, but the Word of the Lord endureth forever."

This motion prevailed in the Assembly by a vote of 534 to 263, a majority of 271. By this decisive vote in favor of biblical scholarship and the historical investigation of the Bible the Assembly has reversed its previous attitude of hostility as manifested in the action against Professor W. Robertson Smith in 1881, when the Assembly deposed him from his chair of Hebrew in the Free Church College at Aberdeen because his views of Old Testament history were pronounced heretical. Between the years 1881 and 1902 have intervened twenty-one years of progress; the younger generation of ministers has been trained to think and to investigate. Consequently there have arisen a larger view of the Bible and a better spirit in the Assembly. This condition in Scotland, made so clear by the recent action, is indicative of the condition in America, England, Germany, and even to some extent in France. The change has been effected from an inert traditionalism to a thorough historical study of the Bible and of Christianity, from a condemnation of biblical scholars to a recognition of their importance.

Principal Rainy's address before the Assembly, in support of his motion, was an admirable presentation of the proper attitude which the people should assume toward the work of the biblical scholars. He said that the one thing he was really anxious for was that their proceedings should embody a worthy attitude of the church toward this whole subject; at the same time, he would not wish the action of the Assembly to be construed as meaning that they gave a general license to critics to say whatever they pleased. He pointed out that in his motion they had distinctly reserved to the church the right to inter-

pose when they thought serious elements of the Christian faith required it; and that in such circumstances, and especially if they found men wantonly making near approaches to the center of the citadel that struck them as of a dangerous kind, they would not be slack, he hoped, to consider how that state of things should be met. But, while that was so, he had endeavored to show the reasons for taking care at this stage to take no position which would involve them in a false relation to the processes of thought and to the whole current of opinion as it was forming itself among men whose business it was to examine and to criticise ancient books, and particularly this most sacred Book of all. His anxiety about these facts, in the first place, was that they should not rashly be admitted to be facts; and, in the second place, that where the evidence was produced, and was growing, there should be no attempt to stifle the evidence or to stop the process by authority. His anxiety about that was just this, that he knew it had pleased God to order His revelation all along upon the plane of history, and upon the plane of historical event; and he felt that, while he hoped that he knew something of the testimony of the Holy Spirit, he did not emancipate himself from the obligation to take along with that the facts of history. and new facts if they were discovered. His very faith in the Scripture was that he knew, if pains enough were taken to make sure that the facts were facts, they could not be contrary to the Word of God, and might help him to some further understanding of what God aimed at and intended in those Scriptures of his.

It was a mistake to suppose that, when anyone was led to take a view of some passage of Holy Scripture which had not been usual. it was therein implied that this passage was removed for the future from its former place in the revelation of God, as a part of the great mass of documents by which the voice of God reaches the hearts of men. It appeared to him that if this discussion was to be usefully carried on he meant the discussion of the rights and wrongs of the critical theories and position - it must be carried on by meeting the critical argument upon the merits. When Christian scholars come to take up responsibilities on this subject and to deal with these investigations, it is not in their own choice to settle beforehand the conclusions which they are to embrace at the end. So far as it is a question of facts and of the evidence which establishes the facts, the man who does that is bound, if he is to express his opinion, to say that his mind is open to all evidence, though he is bound at the same time to sift it very carefully. Men may have their own right and their own reasons for resisting these tendencies, whether on the part of unbelieving and naturalistic scholars, or on the part of believing men. They may have the right to resist on the evidence of the facts, or more likely on the processes of reasoning, based upon the facts and leading to conclusions, the successive steps to inferences by which theories that appeared to them unreasonable and dangerously sweeping had been reached. opinions of other men could compel them to the adoption of them. But it is true that the tide of opinion as to what the facts implied begin to raise questions that have to be dealt with by discussion of the evidence of facts, and not in any other way. If the facts turn out to be facts, the discovery to them may very likely involve pain; but if the facts are facts, the ascertainment of them is pure gain, so far as they are facts, to everybody. He believed—at least he thought it very likely—that there would be facts to be recognized, and consequences of the facts that would require to be admitted into their minds. But, however that might be, whether it was likely or not, what he was putting to the Assembly was that there were allegations or facts which had acquired a position that required them and himself to be patient with discussion. They could not settle them, he could not settle them; discussion must settle them, and nothing else could do it.

Professor James Orr, of the United Free Church College, Glasgow, and a colleague of Professor G. A. Smith's in that institution, seconded and spoke for Principal Rainy's motion. He said that the question really before them was not so much the merits of Professsor Smith's book as the attitude which the church was to assume toward that modern critical movement as a whole. There was no disguising the fact that, for good or for evil—and he believed, in the providence of God, immensely more for the good than for the evil in its issue—that criticism was with them, and they must face the fact. The Assembly was not making a situation. It was facing a situation which already existed. It was confronted with a movement of long growth, widely spread, and ranging on its side, with varying degrees of acceptance explain it how they might—the bulk of Old Testament scholarship, deeply penetrating the thought and literature of the country and of the church. He did not say that the church had not a responsibility in regard to this movement. It was futile to attempt to deal with a movement of this character and magnitude and to dispose of it by any vote or decision of an Assembly committee. No one was in a position to draw a line, and say that exactly at that point legitimate inquiry or discussion stopped; and it passed his comprehension how anyone who knew

what this critical movement meant should dream of asking any committee of the Assembly to discriminate in detail between the truth and the error in the large and difficult questions involved in this discussion. What was the object which Professor Smith in this volume set before him? Was it not, in opposition to naturalistic theories, precisely this, that Israel's religion could not be explained out of any mere natural factors, that it could only be accounted for by a positive divine revelation, by the actual revelation of the one true and living God by word and deed in Israel? Again and again, in so many words, that was expressly declared. The view of Professor Smith's critics was that his book destroyed belief in the revealed origin of the religion of Israel. In point of fact, whether they thought the Professor's argument a good one or not, Professor Smith was seeking a basis from which to demonstrate more securely the reality of that revelation.

Those who assailed Professor Smith accused him in the strongest measure of subverting the authority and denying the inspiration of the Old Testament. But he thought it must be seen by every candid reader of his book that Professor Smith did not regard himself as doing any of those things. He could not conceive how anyone could give stronger or more eloquent expression to his sense of the abiding value of the Old Testament for the life and doctrine of the church, or more emphatically declare that Christ's estimate of the Old Testament must always be the estimate of the Christian, than Professor Smith had done in his book. The question was not so much whether there was inspiration in the Old Testament, as precisely what was held to be covered by the Bible's assertion of its own inspiration. And here Christian men, in point of fact, did differ, and had always to some extent differed. But surely he was not wrong in saying that the essence of the matter is conserved when we hold the reality of God's historical revelation, in word and deed in Israel, leading up to Christ; and our possession of a record which, in every essential respect, preserves and conveys the meaning of the message of that revelation to us. Given such an inspiration as infallibly fitted the Bible for its great purpose of making us wise unto salvation that was in Christ Jesus, and of equipping the man of God perfectly for all the ends of his spiritual life, had we not everything secured that was demanded by the Bible's own tests of inspiration?

He who has real confidence of the firmness of the ground on which he stands will not be readily thrown into panic by the blowing of trumpets of adversaries. He will possess his soul in patience and make good the truth of the old word: "He that believeth shall not make haste." Whatever they may think of Professor Smith's speculations, there could be but one opinion among them, that he at least had nobly proved in the past his faith, his zeal, and his evangelical fidelity, by works that had made his name a household word and an honor; that he had preached a living gospel, and had been made instrumental, as few were, by tongue of fire and vivid imagination and prophetic fervor, to kindle faith and move to godliness in an age far lost to prophetic ideals. Rather than accentuate by continued controversy and new committees the points in which they might unhappily differ, he would say, let them unite in thanking God for the gift he had given to them in Professor Smith, and for the work he had been enabled to accomplish for God's glory.

Among the other addresses which were made in support of the motion for dismissing the matter, Rev. John Kelman, of Edinburgh, said that it was not a question between revelation and attacking revelation. The question was between two methods of revelation. That was a vital distinction, and it seemed to him the thing which came to them in this view, that had caused so much anxiety, that had given so many fears, and that was still upon its trial here, was that, while all through this view of revelation the living God is speaking to his people, and through them to all the earth, yet the revelation, the words by which he speaks, and the methods he takes of revealing himself, were keeping pace in this view with the slow progress of men through the early ages. That seemed to him the point of view of the book, which was really the critical matter before them. As to Dr. Smith's view of revelation, he thought they must remember that he had enriched this church, and many other churches, with other books besides the one now being discussed, and in these books there would be no difficulty in finding many a passage in which it could be seen plainly how loval he was to a belief in revelation. Only he believed in a revelation which kept pace with man's slow progress from the crude beginnings of national life until it finally confronted him with Jesus Christ. He did not think they realized how very widespread a matter this new method was. It was not a local Zeitgeist. It was not a Scottish affair - it was a matter which was exercising great and able minds throughout the world; and it seemed very serious if in the midst of this movement, which was going on in all the churches of Christendom, one church checked discussion. The church which did that at such a time would sever itself from the whole trend of theological thought. To

some of them this subject came very nearly, and it was his own experience for the last years that had forced him to speak at this time. His work had led him among not a few, but among hundreds, of doubting young men and women of our time. He thought he knew something of the issues there. People talked about them as if there might be eccentric intellectual cowards here and there scattered over the land; but there was a very real checking of faith in many quarters where, it might be, some of them had not realized it, but some of them had. To many faith was supremely difficult in an age like the present one. And for the sake of these people he earnestly pleaded that these difficulties, which, after all, were matters of detail, should not be settled by any great decision upon a matter like this. The greater issues of faith were being obscured from many of their people by little difficulties of detail in regard to the interpretation of the method of revelation. They could not see the wide field of Christ and of Christ's love because of certain difficulties. These might be trifling in themselves, but still they stood between the people and the broader field which they longed for - a revelation of God to themselves. In their hearts they longed to be sure of God, and there were many who were not sure of him today who wanted to be; and this method of revelation—this way of looking at the whole subject - was one along which many of them would find God, and had found God; and it was because of that he pleaded for liberty. Would the Assembly foreclose this great question, and make the situation an absolutely impossible one for them? All he asked was that as ministers they should be allowed to do their work in a situation whose difficulty no man could know until he had heard some of those voices of the seekers after truth that were so frequent among them.

## Book Rebiews.

Regnum Dei. Eight Lectures on the Kingdom of God in the History of Christian Thought. By Archibald Robertson, D.D., Principal of King's College, London. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. xx + 401. \$2.50.

This volume contains the Bampton Lectures for 1901. Dr. Robertson characterizes the treatise as "the result of the writer's reflection with a view to his own guidance in life." It goes without saying that the subject is of the most vital importance to every Christian in his practical, experiential life; and Dr. Robertson rightly premises his investigation with the proposition that the kingdom of God is the Christian answer to the most vital question that man has to solve, the question of the purpose of his being. Where is his answer to be found? Every Christian will look to Jesus for it, and Dr. Robertson takes his starting-point from Jesus. But the teaching of Jesus was based upon hopes and convictions in full currency at the time of his advent on earth. His conception of the kingdom is a many-sided one, and the task of developing what is implicit in it, and of illustrating the harmony of its various parts and aspects, had to be undertaken and performed by the long succession of his followers through the Christian centuries. Accordingly, in presenting his subject, Dr. Robertson, after a rapid survey of the theocratic ideals presented in the Old Testament, and current, more or less modified, at the time of Jesus, proceeds in the second and third lectures to treat of the kingdom of God as preached by Jesus and the apostles. In the fourth he deals with the chiliastic misconceptions of the primitive church, which were molded in part by literalistic interpretations of the Apocalypse and in part by other causes. The fifth lecture takes up the epochmaking idea of Augustine regarding the kingdom as the invisible church. Augustine's idea, however, includes the beginnings of two lines of development which are next considered in the sixth and seventh lectures. The former of these deals with the conception of the mediæval papacy, viz., that of the kingdom of God as an omnipotent church; the latter describes the intellectual and moral breaking up of the system, and prepares the way for the consideration of the other line of development from Augustine, that of the kingdom

as the spiritual body of Jesus Christ. In the eighth lecture the results of the investigation are brought together and correlated with the problems which confront the Christian in modern life.

The avowed purpose of the author is not to build an argument for a predetermined conclusion, but, as already indicated, to institute an inquiry on a subject of transcendent importance. Accordingly, the questions that naturally occur in estimating the work are: Does the author steadfastly keep this one aim before him? Does he give each of his sources its due proportion of attention? and, finally, Does he use the best methods in the prosecution of his investigation? The first and third of these questions we may answer in the main affirmatively; the second we can only answer in the negative, or, at best, with a very qualified affirmative. It seems to us that the space and attention given to the biblical conception of the kingdom of God is not proportionate to the real importance of that part of Dr. Robertson's sources as compared with the space and attention given to the ecclesiastical development of the idea.

Within the treatment of the biblical conception, we further consider it a defect to place the Pauline concept before that given in the synoptic gospels. This arrangement is chronological, to be sure, but not historical. The Pauline concept is the unfolding of that given in the synoptic gospels. The teaching of Jesus in the synoptic gospels, we take it, is a correctly reported account of an earlier stage in history than the teaching of Paul in his epistles, although chronologically the epistles may have been written earlier than the gospel.

In his exposition of modern views, Dr. Robertson seems to ignore altogether the work of the most recent—especially American—writers on the subject of the kingdom of God. The theory of the kingdom that identifies it with regenerated humanity in its entire breadth and depth seems to have no place in Dr. Robertson's discussion.

All these points may possibly be regarded as matters of opinion on which different individuals will agree to differ. On the other hand, it must be noted that the work of Dr. Robertson is a model of scholarly, devout study, characterized by that love of historical research which is distinctive of the English churchman since the days of Pusey and Newman. Principal Robertson cannot be classified with the eminentmen just named as an Anglo-Catholic, but he has not failed to imbibe what there was of spiritual-mindedness and reverence for the ancient church in their thought and work.

A. C. Zenos.

McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

Francis E. Gigot, S.S. Part I: The Historical Books. New York, Chicago: Benziger Bros., 1901. Pp. 387. \$2.

This book, like the General Introduction by the same author, is the outcome of courses of lectures delivered during several years in theological seminaries of the Roman Catholic church. It includes introductory material on the Pentateuch and the usual historical books, and, in addition thereto, on the books of Tobit, Judith, and 1 and 2 Maccabees.

The method of presenting this material differs slightly from that adopted by most writers on Introduction. This treatment regards the discussion of Hexateuchal problems of first importance, for the space occupied is more than one-half of the entire volume. The author first presents a summary of the chief recent theories concerning the authorship of the first six books, and concludes his discussion (pp. 46, 47) by conceding, as von Hummelauer has already done, the main positions claimed by the critics of the Hexateuch. The compilatory character of Genesis does not interfere in the least with its historical value. Of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers he gives (pp. 189 ff.) the Carpenter-Battersby analysis in parallel columns, and from all that is said in the text would indorse it as representing the true state of the case. In the discussion of the origin of Deuteronomy the author copies copiously from other writers, but finally fails himself (p. 126) to take a definite position, though he leans apparently to the view, which has already been adopted by Father Van den Biesen, viz., that Deuteronomy was a product of the seventh century, and was "found" in 621 B. C., and used as an impetus to Josiah's reforms. The remaining books of the Old Testament are treated in the conventional manner. We are particularly interested to see the broad-minded way in which the author has used recent authors and adopted modern positions. Too often one is not certain, however, where he stands, except by the character of the preponderance of authorities quoted and referred to.

The author's church affinities occasionally crop out in his statements (cf. p. 233, n. 2), as well as in the naming of a large number of his own church authorities. The volume has been more carefully prepared, and its proof better read, than previous volumes. We have noted a few errors: p. 37, eight lines from the bottom, should be "i-xxvi, 13;" p. 185, note 2, should be "E. L. Curtis;" p. 198, note 3, should be "Orelli."

IRA M. PRICE.

The Passing and the Permanent in Religion. By MINOT J. SAVAGE, D.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901. Pp. v+336. \$1.35, net.

The name of the author and the title of this book assure the reader beforehand that he will find it an expression of religious thought from the most liberal point of view. The sub-title declares a purpose with which many will sympathize who are not accounted to be of the "liberal" way of thinking. That purpose is "a plain treatment of the great essentials of religion, being a sifting from these of such things as cannot outlive the results of scientific, historical, and critical study -so making more clearly seen 'the things that cannot be shaken.'" Doubtless everyone will wish that this sifting process may go forward as speedily as possible, and that so may be realized Dr. Hale's birthday prophecy, uttered in Boston a few weeks ago, that "the Christian religion is going to sustain in the next one hundred years such another reformation as has never been paralleled in history," and that men are to come "to an entirely nobler view of what we mean by the gospel of Christ than has been had since Jesus Christ was nailed to the cross." There will, however, be difference of opinion between Dr. Savage and some of his readers as to what are the "great essentials of religion," and whether one of them is not a more direct declaration of the mind and will of God than may be inferred from human observation and experience. And, while it will hardly be agreed that all the "triumphant certainties" of religion are dependent upon scientific tests, there will be general agreement with the author's implication that we may well spare whatever "cannot outlive" the results of scientific, historical, and critical study.

The tone of the chapters is not that of discussions primarily for students and scholars, but rather that of pulpit addresses to a congregation of intelligent, cultured, alert, and withal comfortable men and women, with whom all is at present well, and who look, both here and hereafter, for better things to come. There is no painful elaboration of subtleties, not a hint of hesitation or perplexity, even in dealing with the life to come; but in a style that is a model of lucidity, and in a spirit of unfaltering optimism, the chapters deal with "Religion and Religions," "Theology and Theologies," "The Universe," "Man," "Bibles," "Gods and God," "Saviours," "Worship," "Prayer," "The Church," "Hells," "Heavens," "The Resurrection Life." There is also an appendix consisting of "Some Ancient and Modern Things

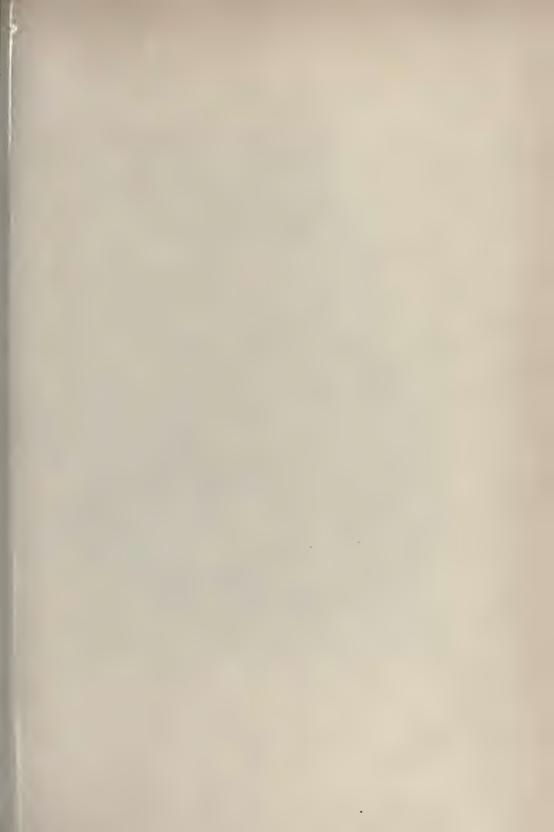
Said about Hell," which seems to have no function beyond increasing the size of the book some dozen pages.

The author, as is well known, occupies the viewpoint of evolution, and he treats every one of his topics accordingly. Religion is an essential and permanent part of nature and of human life. Theology is also essential, being the intellectual apprehension of religion. God, partially revealed to us in all great teachers, inventors, artists, is most fully revealed to us in Jesus. "Jesus, the tender, loving, gentle Nazarene, has transformed and made over the conception of God." Jesus is "the supreme ideal of divine manhood," caring most "that men should know that God was their Father, that they were his children, and that the way to get rid of human ills was to love men, love even your enemies." Worship, an expression of the wish to get into right relations with God, has evolved from ignorant, crude, barbaric thoughts about God, thoughts inevitable to men of undeveloped natures, feeling and transferring to God only the most primitive needs of food, drink, gifts, the gratification of physical desires, praise, honor, "to that ideal of worship for which Jesus stands, and which he taught as the first great duty of man." Death is only a progressive step into an existence where conditions will be more favorable to rapid progress than those that this world affords, but where men must reap the harvest of past sowing, even as they must do here.

Many who will read this book will still believe that the Divine Will has more to do with the religious history of man than Dr. Savage's applications of the doctrine of evolution imply. They will refuse to accept, as adequate "revelation," the accumulations and inductions of human experience, and to look upon Jesus as only one of a great company of "saviors." But one who holds that Jesus was, in very truth, God with us, and who believes that God spoke to men by his prophets, by men who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Spirit, and by his Son, may nevertheless read this book with interest and not without profit. It is free from the blemish that so often makes the name "liberal" a misnomer—the destructive spirit, and the disposition to represent the peculiar opinions of certain men of a few generations ago as expressions of "orthodox" views at present. The book is frank and fair. It is to be commended especially to religious teachers and leaders as the latest and perhaps fullest deliverance of liberalism upon "the great essentials of religion."

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THE LATE REV. PROFESSOR A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D.

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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#### THE LARGER MEANINGS OF BIBLICAL STUDY.

Is modern Bible study simply a scholar's matter? From some points of view one would say that it is. There are the discussion over details, the multiplication of hypotheses, and sometimes the failure to grasp broad principles, which characterize purely scholastic interests. The most enthusiastic devotee to philology or biology is no more devoted to the acquisition of knowledge than is the critic. One might even go so far as to say that in some particulars biblical scholarship is sharing in the professionalism which occasionally invades the laboratory, and the theologian, like the chemist, becomes less interested in truth than in making a reputation by a new discovery.

But is this the end of the matter? Can a student of the Bible disregard other than merely scholastic results? We certainly believe that he cannot. The Bible and religion are too vitally connected with social life in every stage of its development, and, unless we mistake in reading the signs of the times, the revolution which is now progressing in the study of the Bible has very wide-sweeping results.

The world at large does not need to know how many times a grammatical form occurs in a biblical book, or to understand the chronology of the campaigns of Seriousness Sennacherib, or even to be able to estimate the particular archæological form in which the thought of Paul was expressed, any more than it needs technical knowledge about the constitution of the Roman monarchy, or the number of pulsations of a frog's heart. If biblical

study has only a technical or academic importance, there is many a biblical scholar who would prefer to devote his energies to something else. But just because it is not solely a scholar's matter, a practical man is justified in championing it. In addition to their value as knowledge, its results have a special value from their influence upon the religious and moral thinking of individuals singly and collectively, and so upon social life.

The man who thinks that the critical scholar comes to his task in the spirit of the dilettante or the iconoclast is profoundly mistaken. The critical scholar believes that he has a mission. He may be mistaken as to the importance of that mission, but until he is disillusioned his earnestness is not that of the man who proposes to make the dative case the supreme thing in life. Instead, it is that of the man who wishes to bring the essentials of Christianity into human life. So it is that, paradoxical as it seems, the ultimate and supreme end of many of the most intensely scientific biblical scholars is not scholarship. Their scholarship is a means to this end. Indeed, so earnest is their spirit that it is only one means used by them. It would be easy to cite instances of men, whose names are synonymous of truest biblical science, who are interested in, and even intimately associated with, social movements. There never was a class of men less scholastic than the biblical scholars who work in sympathy with the modern spirit.

In the realm of theology proper one has only to look at the discussion started by criticism to see its practical bearing. Dealing, as it does, with the foundation of most Chris-THE INFLUENCE tian theology, it is inevitable that its results should OF HISTORICAL have been felt throughout the realm of theological STUDY IN construction. It could hardly be otherwise. The THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS man who holds the Bible to be a collection of atomistic proof-texts, each absolute and eternal in authority, cannot by any conceivable process reach the same theological conclusions as the man who regards the Bible as the outcome and the record of a religious development which constitutes a progressive revelation of God. A compromise can be reached by

no apologetic jugglery, and those who walk in the path of the unhistorical literalist are consistent in their opposition to the historical critic. There may be Christian toleration; there cannot be theological agreement between the two parties.

And the same is true in the realm of apologetics. From all sides there comes a demand for a new statement of the evidences of Christianity. But what is Christianity? Is it the belief and life of the apostolic age? Or does essential Christianity lie in something of which apostolic Christianity was but one phase? The historical student cannot give the same answer to this as the unhistorical student. The apologetics of the one cannot be that of the other, if for no other than this reason: the two are not attempting to defend the same thing. And perhaps there is no more important result of the application of a historical method to Bible study than the clarifying of ideas concerning what actually constitutes Christianity. For a man who is ambitious to be of service to his time, and who believes that Christianity is a divine force to be applied to human life, biblical study, therefore, offers a field of first importance. He may not be interested in the grammar, the archæology, or even the history of the Bible as ends in themselves: but he will find in them the tools with which to hew true to the line which separates essential Christianity from its historical expressions.

But modern biblical study stands in even wider relations. As long as Christianity is a force in human progress, and as long as the questions of economic and social reform are moral questions, and above all as long as real Christianity has a message for the world at large, the world will turn with increasing interest to the study of the literature of Christianity. But it will turn as a modern, not as a sixteenth-century, world. No man who wishes to bring Christianity into today's life can afford to disregard this fact. Of course, there are thousands of people alive today who are not possessed of the modern spirit, who still think and believe as if they lived in centuries long past. These persons may be reached by the methods of the age to which they really belong,

but their children will be more largely possessed of today's spirit, and it will be with them that the church must deal. Can any religious teaching be of influence that is dominated by the spirit of any age—either past or future—other than that of the people to which it is brought? For our part we do not believe it can; and, for this reason, if for no other, we plead the need of a genuinely scientific biblical study. A scientific age demands a scientific treatment of its religion. Critical results in themselves may not be worth the travail that gives them birth; but, as one phase of the application of the modern spirit to the Bible, and as a means of discovering a revelation of God, the right to use critical methods in studying the Scriptures is something worth dying for. And the day of martyrs is not passed, even in America.

No, the genuinely historical study of the Bible involves something more than differences among scholars. It will issue in a Christianity in which men will study the Bible with the very selves which they carry into all other phases of modern life, and which will be to the world a source of moral impulse and regeneration. To check such study, provided always it is reverent and prayerful, is to check the cause of Christianity. The modern spirit will study the Bible in accordance with itself, or it will not study it at all. And if the Bible is not studied, it is hard to see how the great movements in society that so clearly prophesy a new age can be genuinely Christian. Here is the supreme function and ambition of the biblical scholar: by inducing men to discover and appreciate the teaching of the Bible, to Christianize today's social evolution—to help bring in the kingdom of God.

## THE LATE PROFESSOR A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D.

By PROFESSOR GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland.

It is not reverence alone that stays a disciple's hand from writing of such a master. There was that degree of elusiveness about his personality which escapes the grasp, and renders the duty of conveying the impression to those who did not know him a forlorn hope. His gifts were conspicuous and trenchant; his learning solid and vast. But they were not the man. With a wit that left an indelible mark every time it flashed; with an authority which forces those who have felt it to do all their work, asking themselves what he would think of the performance; with a humility and kindness that won love in a moment and kept it for a lifetime - there was behind all a loneliness and seclusion of spirit which, while it fascinates, defies penetration. "A fugitive and gracious light . . . . shy to illumine," he attracted only to escape. Perhaps it would be better not to attempt the secret, and to confine one's effort to the recital of qualities so many and so brilliantly combined. Yet the fascination of the man behind the gifts prevails even over the admiration which they excite.

#### I. EARLY YEARS.

Andrew Bruce Davidson was born and reared in a part of Scotland which also gave to the world his four most eminent pupils—Robertson Smith, William Elmslie, Peter Thomson, and John Skinner.<sup>1</sup> The air of his native county remained with him

<sup>1</sup>(1) Robertson Smith, who was born, I think, about 1846, was a "son of the manse," his father being minister of the Free Church of Scotland in the parishes of Keig and Tough, on the river Don. (2) William Gray Elmslie, born 1848, was another "son of the manse," the second son of Rev. William Elmslie, of Insch Free Church; he had a particularly successful work at Aberdeen University and New College, Edinburgh, became a famous preacher, and after a ministry at Willesden, London, was appointed professor of Hebrew in the English Presbyterian College. See his memoirs and sermons, edited by Robertson Newle, London, 1890. He was a brilliant preacher,

to the last. As it was its accent which ever broke from his lips with the truths that stirred him most deeply, so to its keen atmosphere and strenuous life we may trace the truthfulness, the sagacity, the reserve, the shrewdness and humor which distinguished all his work. Born in 1831, on the farm of Kirkhill, near Ellon, in the county of Aberdeen, he was sent, "a ruddy-faced boy" of twelve, to Aberdeen city to be prepared in the grammar school for entrance to Marischal University.<sup>2</sup>

Davidson graduated at Marischal in 1849 with honors, but did not till 1852 begin his studies for the ministry of the Free Church of Scotland, at New College, Edinburgh.<sup>3</sup> The intervening years were spent by him in charge of the Free Church school of his native parish. Thus from the very opening of his career he was a teacher; and I have heard from those who were among his boys at Ellon that the same love of children. the same thoroughness and charm of instruction, as distinguished him through life were then apparent. But for a short time he broke from teaching and turned to the ministry. In 1856 he was licensed to preach and served for six months as "helper" to Dr. John Macgilivray, minister of Gilcomston, one of the largest Free Church congregations in Aberdeen, and author of a notable life of St. Chrysostom. I have been told also that Davidson was appointed to the office of "lecturer" at an evening service instituted by the presbytery.4 In any case the originality of his preaching was already acknowledged. At Marischal College he had distinguished himself-again like his four brilliant pupils above mentioned-in mathematics, but during the

teacher, and expositor of the Old Testament. (3) Thomson was a man of rare scholar-ship and rarer character; assistant, like the others, to Dr. Davidson, and afterward minister at St. Fergus. He wrote a primer on the life of David, and several articles in the Expositor. He died in 1880. See the life of him, A Scotch Student, by Rev. George Steven, M.A., Edinburgh. All these three died young: Smith at forty-eight, Elmslie at forty-two, Thomson at thirty-three. (4) John Skinner, professor of Hebrew and apologetics in Westminster College, Cambridge, author of "Isaiah" in the Cambridge Bible for Schools.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> At that time the city had two universities, King's and Marischal. Since 1859 they have been the arts and medical colleges of the one University of Aberdeen.

<sup>3</sup> At that time New College was the only divinity hall of the Free Church.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> He also served a rural mission for some months near Blairgowrie, Perthshire.

following years he gave himself to the study of languages. In Ellon he read Greek and Latin assiduously, and mastered French, German, and Italian, to which he afterward added a knowledge of Dutch. But during his divinity course "Rabbi" Duncan "thirled" him to the study of Hebrew, and in the end of 1858 he returned to New College to be Duncan's assistant.

Dr. Nicoll has rightly said that the years of Davidson's schoolmastering in Ellon, "perhaps more than any others in his life, were the years in which he made himself. Before they were ended he had become a scholar." If we take note that they formed an unusually long interval between the close of his course in arts and his entrance on theology, we are able to assume that they were filled with other interests than those of scholarship. They must have been a time of inward questioning and struggle. He put off his approach to the ministry; and although, characteristically, he never betrayed by a word what he had come through, the effort of the human soul to find God. the experience of its failure to construct an intellectual system of religion, and its refuge in faith in the goodness of God and in surrender to His call to itself, formed the first object of Davidson's labors as an expositor of Scripture, and continued to the end his main interest in life. Such a crisis, too, explains the sympathy, the wistfulness, and the almost "desperate peace" of his mind. He must for a time have fought and lost all but God.

The new assistant to Dr. Duncan was admirably qualified to fill "the splendid gaps" in the influence of that great religious genius. "Dr. Duncan's defects as a teacher," says Dr. Moody-Stuart in his Recollections, "were more than supplied by the appointment of a coadjutor, Dr. Davidson, first as assistant and then as colleague, whose qualifications he always valued as of the very highest order." His work would be mainly linguistic. Davidson taught the Hebrew grammar and read the Old Testament with his pupils. To these first years at his post we may trace his unsurpassed mastery of the language, the beginnings of his Grammar, his work on Hebrew Accents, and his almost equal mastery of Arabic and Syriac. Then or later he spent a summer studying Arabic in Palestine. But with this work in

scholarship there went the other, which was more significant of the man. He wrote his great Commentary on Job. "The book of Job is so called from the name of the man whose history, reflections, and sayings form the subject of it." "Without doubt in all this he is the mouthpiece of the author of the book." And even when in later days he admitted that the sufferings of Israel were mirrored in those of Job, and that "the author designed that his people should see their own features in his, and from his history forecast the issue of their own"—it was, from the first and always, the struggles of the individual conscience, both against the conventional religion of its time and against Providence, which fascinated our master.

In Old Testament study, when Davidson began to profess it, there were many new interests calling to a young scholar's heart. The main lines of the analysis of the Pentateuch had been established. Ewald<sup>5</sup> was busy reconstructing upon them the history of Israel's religion. Even so far away as South Africa, Colenso was in touch with this progress of German criticism, and Davidson must have equally felt its attractions. There were, too, fresh movements in the study of the text, premonitory of the work of Lagarde and others, which so immediately ensued. The view of the Semitic race as a whole was beginning to be possible, and Renan had already opened up some of its attractions. There were the fascinations of archæology. There were, as strong as ever, the orthodox interests in typology and messianic prophecy, the latter not untouched by new lights, suggestive, to an original mind like Davidson's, of possible reconstructions. And there was the alarm which fresh views inevitably excited, and the growing sense of the need of a new apologetic. That amid all these interests—textual, critical, historical, theological—this young scholar should have turned to what is, after all, the most personal and psychological of the Old Testament books, was thoroughly characteristic. To the end-whether in Saul, or Elijah, or Jeremiah, or Job-it was the religious experience of the individual, and, especially in doubt and in failure, the assertion of the personal consciousness,

<sup>5</sup> Since HUPFELD's work in 1850 on the Sources of Genesis.

whether against dogma, or fate, or deity, which most attracted Davidson, and excited his powers to their highest pitch. In that sphere of interpretation he was unrivaled. No school or church in our day has furnished an exegete to match him there. His sympathy and his insight were immediate, exact, profound. And yet—and all the more wonderfully that they were evidently born of his own share in experiences similar to those of his hero—he was never carried away by his sympathy to impute to his subject one atom more than it contained. His intellectual justice forbade his religious genius to force a modern or selfish meaning upon any passage which he expounded.

The Commentary on Job, which has since obtained the praise of experts as the first really scientific commentary on the Old Testament in the English language, seemed to fail at the time to secure any notice from scholars. It is all the greater matter of pride to her sons that Davidson's own church recognized the merits of the book; and, in spite of certain grumblings about its "unsoundness," elected the author in 1863 to the Hebrew chair in New College as colleague to Dr. Duncan. His ordination followed as a matter of course. Davidson was now virtually in sole charge of the chair. Beyond several articles, he published nothing for eleven years, when his Outlines of Hebrew Grammar appeared. But during that time, in the varied curriculum to which he contributed—and there was not a fuller course of divinity in any theological hall-he gradually brought forward what was intrinsically the least popular of the subjects to the very first rank of all. He impressed Hebrew on the ablest students, and himself on these and all the rest. The sixties and early seventies saw a succession of some of the best graduates of Edinburgh and Aberdeen Universities pass through his hands. They started the Davidson tradition, and raised him to the eyes of the undergraduates behind them as the chief attraction which the New College had to offer. It grew the fashion for undergraduates to pay a visit to his class-room before they entered the hall; and he attracted to his lectures an increasing number of divinity students from other lands and churches.<sup>6</sup> About

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Chiefly from Ireland, Canada, and the United States.

1866 his most brilliant pupil, Robertson Smith, came under his hands, and in 1870 passed immediately from them to the Hebrew chair in Aberdeen. By this time Davidson's fame was established. The church owned in him her greatest teacher that was the bed-rock on which all the rest of his reputation was founded; but those who had come under his influence carried abroad the spell of his personality. They spoke of his extraordinary intellectual discipline; of his capacity for inspiring faith; and, in many of themselves, illustrated his power to kindle the fire of preaching.7 Thus there grew the recognition of a strong individuality, taking its own way, apart from the ordinary channels of church life, but affecting this widely through an increasing number of manse-studies and pulpits; and, whatever doubts might exist of the methods it followed, obviously making for the ends of spiritual religion. But even all this general influence would have taken a much longer time to become articulate had it not been for Robertson Smith and the rush with which he carried the critical methods he had learned under Davidson to consequences to which the latter, probably aware of their inevitableness, was more slowly moving.

#### II. THE ROBERTSON SMITH CASE.

The influence upon each other of a great master and a great, though differently gifted, pupil is one of the most dramatic studies which biography has to offer. The master "finding himself out" in the pupil; his influence carried beyond his own reach and beyond even his anticipation; the extent of his responsibility for views which he hesitates to indorse; the question of his duty toward these and toward his pupil who has to fight for them; the contrast of the suggestive or the skeptical temperament with the affirmative, not to say dogmatic; the pathos and possible tragedy of such a relation; the result, reactionary or progressive, in the master's opinions—here are as subtle phases of psychology as one will find in any drama. Some of them—certainly not all—were present in the case of Professors Davidson and Robertson Smith.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The leading preachers of the Free Church of Scotland at the present day have mostly been his pupils.

At the close of his undergraduate curriculum, Robertson Smith had been strongly tempted to give himself to mathematics. Professor Tait.8 of Edinburgh, who offered him his assistantship. urged the highest promises of a Cambridge career. Without forgetting Smith's great linguistic powers, or (still less) his sincere consecration to the ministry of Christ, one may feel that, apart from Davidson's influence and the possibilities which Davidson's teaching unfolded in Hebrew, Smith might have been lost to theology. In any case, the master's influence and authority were enhanced by his student's sudden elevation and brilliant developments; and when these led to the long controversies of 1877-82,9 and Smith swayed public opinion in Scotland, Davidson was recognized as the power behind the throne. During the crisis he never spoke in presbytery or synod or Assembly. Beyond recording a silent vote now and again, and putting in as silent an appearance at the meetings of Smith's supporters,

<sup>8</sup> The collaborator with Sir William Thomson, now Lord Kelvin, in so many works on physics and thermo-dynamics. Professor Tait (who died last year) held the chair of natural philosophy in Edinburgh University. His belief in Smith's scientific powers was justified by the latter's brilliant reply to Huxley's address at the Belfast meeting of the British Association.

9 The "libel" or case against Robertson Smith was one of contravening, by his articles in the Encyclopædia Britannica, the doctrine of inspiration in the Westminster Confession of Faith, the confessional standard of the Presbyterian church. The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in 1878 found, by a small majority, that this libel was "relevant," so far as concerned the charge of denying the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy. (We have traveled very far in Scotland since that day!) The case was then sent back to the presbytery of Aberdeen for proof. But the moral victory was felt to lie with the professor's opinions, and, as it turned out, he was acquitted by the presbytery, and again by the General Assembly of 1880 on a narrow majority of three. In the summer of that year new articles by Smith appeared in the Encyclopædia Britannica, and a commission of Assembly, in October, again suspended him from his duties. The General Assembly of 1881, without coming to a conclusion as to Smith's views, finally removed him, by an arbitrary use of its powers, from his chair. Soon afterward he removed to Cambridge, where he became fellow of Christ's College and professor of Arabic (for further details of the controversy see the present writer's Life of Henry Drummond for the years 1878 to 1881, and Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament, Lecture VII). The prolonged trials before the presbytery and synod of Aberdeen and five General Assemblies, with Smith's public lectures since in Edinburgh and Glasgow (afterward published as The Prophets of Israel and The Old Testament in the Jewish Church), created universal excitement, and were the means of educating public opinion in Scotland in the new biblical criticism.

he took no public part in the movement. Yet, when the new views won their fight for liberty—though their protagonist was removed from his chair, they were never condemned - men felt that it was Davidson who was the real author of the greatest theological change that had come over Scotland for centuries. This, however, was not the only triumph of his influence which the controversy exhibited. There were those in Smith's party who forcibly blamed Davidson's silence and attributed it to timidity. They were wrong. The constitutional incapacity which he showed for public debate was not cowardice. One laughs at the idea who thinks of the courage of this man on the dark, lonely paths of spiritual questioning; the splendid solitude of his life; his native inability to hide scorn or contempt where scorn was needed; and the brave independence of his mind toward the most unquestioned authorities or the most fashionable tendencies in his own subject. His silence in Smith's case was not cowardice. The real triumph which the controversy brought to his influence was that men knew this; and that, when his student fell and he himself retained his position almost without having struck a blow in the battle, the respect and esteem in which he was held were greater than ever.

Yet the matter is undoubtedly the problem of Davidson's life. Why was he silent? There is more than one possible answer. His instincts were certainly not with bold and dogmatic assertions of opinions, whether new or old. Smith's methods of working toward the truth were not his methods; and he may have felt and justly—that, even if he overcame his extraordinary shyness at public debate, he could only express his criticisms in a style and accent which would assist the cause less surely than the silent adherence, which was always obvious both to friends or foes. And, moreover, as he stood there, dumb beside his outspoken student, you could not help wondering whether the mysterious temper of the man—the elusiveness hinted at above —contained some feeling of the vanity of the whole business. I do not say he had this; but it would have been very like him to have it. No expositor of Ecclesiastes ever revealed such a startling sympathy with the mood of his author as Dr. Davidson

did to us in his class one morning when the Smith case was in course: "The resultlessness of all struggle for knowledge!"

But among all these possible influences passing between Davidson and Robertson Smith, the most difficult to estimate is that exercised upon the master's opinions by the movements of his more rapid and positive pupil. I approach it with diffidence. Davidson's temperament and the lack of published materials render an exact appreciation impossible.

Graf's revolutionary proposals to assign first the priestly legislation, and then the priestly history, in the Pentateuch to the exilic or post-exilic period, were made in 1866, when Robertson Smith entered New College, and in the following years. By 1870, when he was leaving New College (having meantime studied in Germany), Graf's proposals were adopted and elaborated by Kuenen, Wellhausen, and an increasing number of scholars. As the readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD know, the new views did not meet with universal acceptance. Several critics. with Dillmann at their head, though no longer adhering to the earlier theories of an origin for the Priestly Code in the eleventh or tenth century, refused to bring the document to a date later than Ezekiel, or even than Deuteronomy. Robertson Smith at first kept an open mind in the controversy; but afterward went over to the side of Graf, in his later Encyclopædia Britannica articles and in his lectures on the Old Testament in the Tewish Church. 10 These facts are certain. What is doubtful is the date of Davidson's approach to the new views, as well as the extent of his adherence to them, and the degree to which he was drawn toward such adherence by the swifter convictions of his pupil. Davidson's published writings are not sufficient to answer the questions, but the following may be contributed toward a solution.

From Henry Drummond's notes of lectures, in 1870-71,11 it

<sup>10</sup> Delivered as lectures in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the winter of 1880-81 and published in April, 1881. See also the end of an article on "The Progress of Old Testament Studies," in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, July, 1876. In the earlier *Encyclopædia Britannica* art. "Bible," Smith leaves the question still open.

"See Life of Henry Drummond, pp. 43 f. Davidson "did not then take his students beyond the positions reached by Ewald."

is clear that Davidson was then discoursing to his class on pentateuchal criticism; and, doubtless, with a leaning to the more conservative positions. Yet, after the controversy on Robertson Smith's articles broke out, Davidson dropped his lectures on the Pentateuch—they were not given to his students in the later seventies - and did not resume the subject till nine years later. To the class to which I belonged, in 1876-77, he gave as a reason for confining our attention to the eighthcentury prophets, that with these writings, at least, we were sure we were on historical ground. This alone is evidence that his views were changing; and it is corroborated by the first published papers in which he returned to the subject. In 1888, in the Theological Review, a periodical 12 to which Davidson contributed some of the best theological criticisms of the last quarter of the century, he reviewed Delitzsch's Commentary on Genesis the work in which that conservative critic adopted several of the new views - and Dillmann's Commentary on Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Ioshua. In the first of these reviews 13 Davidson inclines one can hardly use a stronger word of any of his critical opinions -to an advanced position. He states the improbability of Moses having given one system of laws (Exod., chaps. 20 ff.) at Sinai and another so very different (Deuteronomy) on the plains of Moab; and the impossibility of conceiving of Deuteronomy as extant in the days of the judges and early monarchy. In the review of Dillmann 14 he expresses his dissatisfaction with that scholar's theory of the origin for the Priestly Code in the eighth century, and leans to a later date. These are probably as explicit statements as he ever published on the subject. In his Commentary on Ezekiel,15 issued in 1892, he observes how familiar Ezekiel was with a ritual law, and how ancient the sources of such a law must have been. But he does not imply, what Dillmann maintains, that this was a written law—he calls it "consuetudinary"—and, of course, still less does he imply

12 Edited by students of New College. It was a quarterly, and four annual volumes appeared (1886-87 to 1889-90; Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace). Then it was replaced by the Critical Review (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark), edited by Professor

<sup>13</sup> Five octavo pages.

<sup>14</sup> Two octavo pages. 15 Cambridge Bible for Schools.

that it was the Priestly Code. He leaves the date of the latter an open question; but appears to adhere—so far as the constitutional reserve of his mind allowed him to do so—to an exilic or post-exilic origin of the form in which we have this document. Yet he judged the bulk of its contents to be of a very early date, and to have come down through Israel's history by oral tradition.

These positions, then, Davidson took up after the Smith case was over. Whether he had reached them in earlier years, and how far Smith's arguments had moved him toward them, are questions to which no certain answer can be given. All we can say is that he approached the same conclusions, with regard to the dates of the pentateuchal documents, more slowly than his pupil did. But he was more careful, too, than the latter to point out the ancient character of many of the contents of even the latest of these documents, and thereby rendered an unmistakable service to the development of the critical theory. For nothing has produced more confusion, not to say panic, with regard to that theory than the failure to discriminate between the question of the dates of the documents of the Pentateuch and the dates of the origin of their contents. One or two years before his death he said to me that the older he grew the more he felt disposed to push back the latter to an early period. And finally—to complete this sketch of his opinions in the Pentateuch — he remained skeptical and even sarcastic of the finer distinctions to which so many critics have carried literary analysis within the limits of the four main pentateuchal documents.

[To be concluded in the next number.]

# THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF PAUL. VIII. WEALTH AND THE STATE.

By SHAILER MATHEWS, The University of Chicago.

THE years in which Christianity first began its history were years of prodigious economic and political change. The growth of the Roman republic had of necessity broken down and established trade routes quite as truly as it had recombined kingdoms into the first empire. Commercial intercourse between Asia and Africa was supplemented by the enormous traffic between cities like Alexandria, Antioch, Tarsus, Ephesus, Corinth, Marseilles, and Rome. Industries were developed to the very limits allowed by slavery. Enormous banking houses sprang up all over the empire; Judea itself, after having for centuries shared but little in the economic life of its neighbors, then sought its place in the world-commerce. At the same time there was an extraordinary redistribution of wealth. The enormous booty of the eastern wars at first had fallen into the hands of a few wealthy Romans. The standard of living set by them had controlled the habits of the wealthy classes throughout the provinces, and in consequence there, as in the capital itself, ruinous prodigality was soon epidemic. Uninvested wealth is pretty certain to find its way into the hands of middlemen, and the Roman empire offered no exception to the rule. Shopkeepers grew into capitalists; slaves into freedmen; freedmen into millionaires. The entire age grew commercial.

At the same time it grew imperial. The multitude of small kingdoms and city-states that had composed the ancient world had become things of the past, and in their stead there had arisen the ever-developing empire. For the first time in human history the civilized world was at peace with itself, and united against the barbarians of the forests of Europe, the steppes of Asia, and the plains of Arabia and Africa. It was impossible

for the imagination of any thoughtful man to rest unstirred. So it was that there seems to have arisen throughout the empire bands of men who sought either to carry the political transformation still farther, or to check the progress of a movement toward the complete centralization of power in an irresponsible monarch. So much, at least, looks out upon us through the stern regulations of the age against all sorts of sodalities. "Societies of this sort," wrote Trajan to the younger Pliny who had recommended forming a fire company in Nicomedia," "have greatly disturbed the peace of the province. Whatever name we give them, and for whatever purposes they may be founded, they will not fail to form themselves into factious assemblies, however short their meetings may be." The same danger Trajan discovered in large meetings called to receive contributions of money.2 Throughout the entire legislative and imperial rescripts a similar fear of political disturbance is evident. To speak against Cæsar was the worst of crimes.

Into this commercial empire Christianity came, with a message that from the point of view of the empire itself must have been suspicious. It taught another king, Jesus,<sup>3</sup> and it sought to make its followers live as if citizens of another kingdom. As long as such teachings were seen through the medium of a highly protected Judaism, they might very well pass among the Romans as a part of the impossible religion of the Jews; but when once Christians left the synagogues and made devotion to their king and kingdom the supreme test of loyalty to their own fraternities, it is clear that Roman officialism could not fail to be alarmed. To adjust the new life of the church to an aggressive commercialism, and at the same time to preserve it from being misconceived as a political movement, were problems requiring no small sagacity.

Yet, after all, from the point of view occupied by Paul, its solution was not difficult. The new value given life by eschatological messianism, the spirit of *laissez-faire* in politics which obtained in his pharisaic training, suggested at once the conduct to be advised. How opposed to anything savoring of revolution

PLINY, Letters, xliii.

this conduct should be has already appeared. We have now to examine the positive teachings of the apostle concerning the ethical principles obtaining in economic and political matters.

#### SECTION I. WEALTH.

The teaching of Jesus upon wealth was set forth in language which might be easily misunderstood to indicate hostility to wealth as such. He realized the moral difficulties which lie in the possession of property, and, above all, the constant temptation of the rich man to grow independent and superior to his fellows. It was because of this that he so insisted upon the fraternal use of property. It is true that his teaching is not strictly economic. Doubtless because of the circumstances of the time in which he lived, beyond saying that one cannot serve both it and God, and that one is to seek first God's kingdom and his righteousness, he has left no utterance concerning the matter of the production or, strictly speaking, the distribution of wealth. He was rather concerned with its consumption. But even here his words are not those of the economist, but of the moralist. Indeed, he has left no economic program. In the case of wealth, as in the case of all human matters, he is concerned with moral relations, and it is from this point of view that his words have permanent value. With Jesus wealth is a good, but a secondary good. By being used in the spirit of love, and for the purpose of building up a fraternal humanity, it gains its only worth.4 And this means that it should be given freely and as one is confronted with others' needs.5 In fact, so strong are his expressions concerning the duty of charity that, were it not for the corrective of his other and more general teachings concerning love, one might be justified in adopting the interpretation of his words so often championed, that Jesus taught that all wealth should be given away. Interpreted in their genetic relations with the fundamental principles of his teaching, however, these injunctions to charity appear in their

<sup>4</sup> Luke 16: 1 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For instance, Luke 6:30; 12:33; Mark 10:21. In general see MATHEWS, Social Teaching of Jesus, chap. 6; PEABODY, Jesus Christ and the Social Question, chap 4; ROGGE, Der irdische Besitz im Neuen Testament.

true light. They are the one application of such principles to the historical conditions in which Jesus found himself. And as such charity reappeared in the apostolic fraternity.

For one cannot be far from the truth in holding that it was the recollection of their manner of life with Jesus a few months previous that led the apostles in the early days of the Jerusalem church to favor the continuance of an arrangement in which no limits were set upon the devotion of wealth to the needs of the community. And thence resulted the outgush of Christian love which led to the sale of land and other property, and the devotion of the proceeds to the maintenance of a common fund which was devoted to supplying the needs of poor Christians.<sup>6</sup>

Many have seen in this spontaneous κοινωνία, in which, as one of the two accounts of Acts says, no one thought of his own property as his own,8 a form of communism. It is very difficult for one who would use words accurately to assent to such an opinion. Communism consists in something more than self-sacrificing charity. If words mean anything, to give one's coat to a tramp is not to constitute oneself a disciple of Fourier. No more were the Christians at Jerusalem communists because they ministered to their poor. There is not the slightest indication that they ever united in a common productive effort, ever uttered a word against the institution of private property, or gave their assent to any peculiar theory of the distribution of wealth. The situation was much simpler. These Christian messianists expected that their Lord was soon to come to establish his heavenly kingdom. This faith constituted a bond of union both with Jesus and with each other. They were brethren. Some of their number were in need of assistance. It was but an expression of the fraternal love which characterized the new life when those who had property should minister to their less fortunate brothers. The time in which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> There is no need of supposing that the entire membership of the church sat down to a common meal. The numbers, as well as Acts 2:46, preclude this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For instance, NITTI, Catholic Socialism, p. 62. A number of quotations are given in PEABODY, op. cit., p. 26, note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Acts 4:32; cf. 3:44, 45. In the *Didache*, 4:8, and in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, 19:8, this statement becomes a command.

property would be of use was rapidly shortening, and for that reason, if for no other, wealth might well be put to its best use. Such an explanation so satisfies all the conditions that it seems almost supererogation to call attention to the fact that the mother of Mark seems to have owned her house, and that in the story of Ananias and Sapphira, whatever may be its historical value, there is no evidence that its writer supposed that in the Christian church there was ever any compulsory charity. The two wretches die as liars, not as breakers of a communistic compact.

But even such consistent, if indeed, under the belief of his speedy return, too literal, following of the teaching of Jesus was but short-lived in the church. His words were interpreted to refer to charity rather than to general economic life, and charity became throughout the different Christian communities what it has since become—a giving of a certain portion of one's income to the poor, chiefly those, doubtless, at Jerusalem. Wherever one can trace Paul there one can also discover his indefatigable effort to raise money for poor Christians.11 However much this effort may have depended upon some politic motive, like maintaining the good-will of otherwise proselyting Jewish Christians, 12 there can be no question as to the importance he accords charity as a Christian virtue. The very common meals furnished the poor of the Jerusalem church were perpetuated in the meals of the Græco-Roman churches like Corinth.<sup>13</sup> It is true that this meal soon became symbolical rather than eleemosynary, the expression of a fraternal unity rather than of charity; but even thus its origin does not seem to have been quite forgotten, for alongside of the memorial supper there seems also to have been a more substantial meal. In other ways, also, the teachings of Jesus upon charity seem to have received especial attention. Paul admonishes the elders of Ephesus not to forget their Lord's word, "It is more blessed to give than to

<sup>9</sup> Acts 12:12. 10 Acts 5:1-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> I Thess. 4:11; Rom. 15:26-33; I Cor. 16:1-4; 2 Cor. 1:8 ff.; 8:4; 9:1 ff.; Gal. 2:10.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 16:1,3; 2 Cor. 9:1.

<sup>13 1</sup> Cor. 10: 16; 11:24.

receive" <sup>14</sup> and the poor-fund raised in his churches seems to have been sufficiently large to warrant a system of treasurers like Tychicus and Trophimus. <sup>15</sup>

Yet there is no suggestion that Paul thought it necessary for all his converts to beggar themselves in order to assist others from beggary. "Let thine alms sweat within thy hands until thou knowest to whom thou art giving it," says the Didache, 16 and Paul was quite as much opposed to indiscriminate charity. He insisted that the Christian should keep within the ranks of the wealth-producers. "We hear," he wrote the Thessalonians, "of some that walk among you disorderly, that work not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort in the Lord Jesus that with quietness they work and eat their own bread." "If any will not work, neither let him eat," 17 he also commanded the Thessalonians, as if in the very spirit of modern philanthropy. In several of his letters 18 he recalls to the mind of his converts his own habit of life, how he worked daily in order that he might not become a burden to any, and that, too, while he distinctly recognizes his right along with other religious teachers to be supported by the community to which he ministered in spiritual things.19 Perhaps at this point we find Paul in his most interesting position. The custom of the rabbis, and far more of the philosophers, favored the giving of presents to teachers. Thus, as a teacher, to say nothing of his being an apostle, he might have claimed the privilege of being supported by his disciples. This, as has already been said, he declined to do, but his declination was made in such form as really to strengthen the right of other teachers to be paid. Whether or not such persons had abandoned their ordinary vocations we cannot surely say, but probably they had. Only on this supposition can we account

<sup>14</sup> Acts 20: 34, 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Acts 20: 4, 5; cf. Acts 24: 17; Rom. 15: 25, 26; Gal. 2: 10. See RENDALL, Expositor, 1893, p. 321. The technical word for this contribution was διακονία.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> I:6. <sup>17</sup> 2 Thess. 3:10.

<sup>18</sup> I Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:7, 8; I Cor. 9:1-18; 2 Cor. 11:7; 12:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> I Thess. 5:12, 13; 2 Thess. 3:9; I Cor. 9:1-14.

for Paul's anxiety that those who were over his converts in the Lord and who ministered to them in spiritual things should be cared for in material things. The very Scriptures taught the lesson, he insisted, when they taught that a man was not to muzzle the ox that trod out his grain.

This insistence upon charity and self-support, as well as upon the payment of teachers, argues strongly for the presence in the early churches of others than those who were poor or essentially proletarian. And this conclusion is corroborated by many hints in the apostolic and subsequent literature, not to mention the archæological testimony of the second and third centuries. Poor there were, but also those who were well to do; possibly, since there seems to have been a city treasurer, even a few rich.

To appreciate, however, the general social status of the churches outside of Judea, at least, one must think of communities composed of small shopkeepers, artisans, slaves, all being kept by the influence of their leaders steadily at their daily toil, doing heartily whatever they undertook, as unto the Lord, and all contributing to some fund which was applied to the needs of the other "saints." It is certainly a charming picture of simplicity and generosity—the farthest possible removed, on the one side, from any communistic propaganda, and, on the other, from mere commercialism.

But the leaders of the early church, if devoted to sobriety, industry, and charity, were none the less suspicious of the rich. In Paul's later letters he repeatedly warns his converts against covetousness, likening it to idolatry,<sup>20</sup> and rigorously excluding the covetous, with fornicators and thieves and drunkards, from the heavenly kingdom.<sup>21</sup> And it is worth noticing that this suspicion of the rich did not pass away. The epistle to Timothy declares <sup>22</sup> that the love of money is the root of all evils, and the author of Hebrews <sup>23</sup> bids Christians to be free from the love of money. Far more severe is the author of the epistle of James, which, whether it represents pre-Pauline Christianity or not,

<sup>∞</sup> Col. 3:5. .

<sup>28</sup> I Tim. 6:10.

<sup>21 1</sup> Cor. 5:10, 11; 6:11; Eph. 5:5.

<sup>23</sup> I3:5.

certainly represents the un-Pauline point of view. In all folk-literature there is no sterner denunciation of wealth or of that obsequiousness which even in the brotherhood of Christ gives special honors to the well-dressed and wealthy man. "Go to now, ye rich, weep and wail for your miseries that are coming upon you. Ye have laid up your treasure in the last days. Behold the hire of the laborers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out." In these stern words we see, however, not merely a hostility to wealth as such, but to the unrighteous and oppressing rich; and it is noticeable that even here there is no word of revolution, but a trust in the retribution to come in the day of judgment.

Despite the progress of Christianity among the wealthier classes, confidence in the poor man as over against the rich man, and the desire that all men should give to charity, may be said to characterize the first century of the life of the church. Once we even seem to catch some echo of the old communal charity of the ancient church, when in the *Two Ways* we read: 25 "Thou shalt communicate in all things with thy neighbor; thou shalt not call things thine own: for if ye be partakers in common of things that are incorruptible, how much more should ye be of those things that are corruptible;" but the context makes it likely that the words urge only charity.

The church as a whole seems never to have committed itself to other than the Pauline view of industry, private property, and charity in proportion to God's prospering. By the time we reach the second century we find the church fathers discussing the paradoxical teachings of Jesus with much the spirit, and oftentimes with the same casuistry, as the writers of today, while a little later Chrysostom urges an academic communism on the ground that all money put into the common fund would be divinely increased!

If now we seek for the motives that induced the apostles thus to inveigh against wealth while urging industry and charity, they will all be found either within the traditions of those who had lived with Jesus, or else within the general messianic expectations

<sup>24</sup> Jas. 5:4.

of the early church. It is hardly possible to suppose that the churches which preserved the records of Jesus' teaching that go to make up our gospels should have been utterly indifferent to the repeated injunction of Jesus to make wealth a secondary good and to practice charity. Just as impossible is it not to perceive that the expectation of a speedy return of Jesus to establish an ideal but unearthly society would have tended inevitably to minimize the value set upon wealth. The leaders of the church, with remarkable exceptions like Augustine, have always seen a Christian use of property in the endowment of ecclesiastical institutions. But an endowment presupposes a permanent institution, and this was just what the eschatology of the apostles made impossible. Their charity funds were for immediate consumption, not for permanent investments. Even the apostolic injunction to industry was primarily called out by an indifference to earthly conditions born of the eschatological hope. To erect the apostolic teaching into legislation is therefore impossible. As a whole, it is not even the expression of fundamental principles. Yet none the less - perhaps one should say all the more—is it valuable, for it discloses one fundamental fact, viz .: Christianity has no economic program. And another great fact emerges from the apostolic treatment of a commercial age: Economics, like all other aspects of life, is to be controlled by love -love that helps the less fortunate; love that refuses to judge a man by his possession or lack of wealth; love that refuses to make its possessor become through idleness a burden upon society.

But these are not rules. They are the elements of a Christianity that is dependent upon no theory of the second coming of Christ, or upon any formal messianism. Essential Christianity needs no such motives, and may even thrive better without them, for it is an expression of the new life that is born from the contact of a soul with its God, and is nourished and directed by the life and teaching of Jesus.

# SECTION II. THE STATE.

The conservative spirit shown by the apostle in the matter of wealth is even more marked in regard to politics. Jesus had

left no teaching regarding the state. The nearest approach he made to the matter was his general reply to the Jews, to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; <sup>26</sup> and to Pilate: "Thou couldest have no power except it were given thee from above." Any man who attempts to erect a theory of politics upon two such statements will need considerable imagination, and deserves small credence. The fact is that in politics Jesus adopted a thoroughgoing policy of *laissez-faire*, refusing to complicate his real purpose in life with any consideration of political difficulties or reforms.

The same general attitude seems to have characterized the teaching of the primitive church. It is true that, as far as one can judge from the early sections of Acts, the first Christians judged that they were free to disobey the commands of the authorities whenever they interfered with what seemed to them to be clearly Christian duty,<sup>28</sup> but Jesus himself may be said by implication to have countenanced the same view, when he foretold to his disciples that they would be brought before kings and governors, for his sake, and promised them the aid of the Spirit in making their defense.<sup>29</sup> But the persecutions which came upon the church at Jerusalem were not so severe as to lead to any distinct attitude of hostility on the part of the Christians, either to the Roman or to the Jewish officials.

Paul seems to have had a good knowledge of law, both imperial and, if one may judge from the niceties of his references in his letter to the Galatians, local. He also, doubtless, realized the difficulties which beset the man who could be represented as in any way dangerous to the Roman empire. Yet he knew the advantage of Roman citizenship, and, from one point of view, the entire book of Acts is an argument for the legitimacy of Christianity because of the repeated protection shown Paul by various Roman officials. Perhaps it is in part for this reason that he seems to have been remarkably courteous in his references to the imperial power. He tells the Romans that the state

<sup>26</sup> Matt. 22:18-22.

<sup>27</sup> John 19: 11. In general see MATHEWS, Social Teaching of Jesus, chap. 5.

<sup>28</sup> See the words of Peter and John, in Acts 4:19.

<sup>99</sup> Mark 13:9-11.

is of divine origin,30 and that it is to be obeyed implicitly under fear of just punishment: "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God." "For for this cause ye pay tribute also; for they are ministers of God's service, attending continually upon this very thing." And this of an emperor like Nero! At the same time, Paul clearly believed that all governments were but temporary, and that the rulers of this age, both Jewish and Roman,31 were to come to nought.32 His attitude in general was not in the least, therefore, that of co-operation with the state, but that of submission to its requirements. In fact, he does not, apparently, think that the state is a matter in which the Christian has any particular share. This appears clearly in his strong words to the Corinthians against going into heathen courts, with their interfraternal troubles. The state might be appealed to for protection, but never to decide the differences of Christians.33 It was bad enough that there should be dissensions within the Christian brotherhood, but they should be settled within the Christian community "by some wise man able to judge between brothers." Christians should never appear before the heathen judges to plead their difficulties with each other. "Do you not know," he asks indignantly, as he recalls them to their messianic hopes, "that the saints are to judge angels?" 34 and that "men who are unjust cannot inherit the kingdom of God?"

Here again we evidently have teaching that can be adjusted only to certain distinct historical conditions. Paul is not drawing out a theory of the state. He is endeavoring to show his converts how to live in an existing empire while waiting for the coming of the Lord. To elevate it into anything else is to be untrue to historical conditions. It is not that all government is right; it is simply a divinely ordered element of a period of waiting. The true Christian citizenship was not in earth, but in heaven. The heavenly kingdom was not to be set up on the earth by any transformation of the Roman empire. It was to come suddenly, miraculously. Had Paul returned to life at the beginning of the

<sup>3</sup>º Rom. 13:1-7. 3º 1 Cor. 2:6; 15:24; cf. Acts 17:7.

<sup>31</sup> Thess. 2:16; Rom. 9:22; 11:1-36. 33 Acts 28:19. 34 1 Cor. 6:1 ff.

fourth century, there could have been no more surprised man than he upon reading the proclamation of Constantine. Persecution he could understand, for it was to be expected that an evil age would pursue the followers of the Christ it had killed; 35 but an earthly government gradually recognizing the civil rights of both Christians and heathen, with Christian officials and Christian legislation, was something of which he never dreamed. It was, in fact, something of which few Christians dreamed for two centuries after the apostle's death.

It is obvious, therefore, that we cannot regard the apostolic teaching concerning the state as of lasting significance. So to treat it would be to end political evolution. To submit to governmental oppression has been often the most un-Christian of acts. and Paul himself was to fall a victim to his own refusal to allow his rule of passive obedience to extend over matters of conscience. The paradox of the political significance of Christianity never was more striking. On the one hand stand these directions of the apostle to submit to the imperial power, and on the other is the manifest fact that Christianity, in the same degree as it has been unaffected by tradition and authority, has always made toward political change. How may the paradox be resolved? By a resort to the facts which condition the teaching. It is inconceivable that Paul should have thus taught, had he perceived a social and political future before Christianity. It was because he believed in the cataclysm attending the return of Jesus that he urged the Christians to hold aloof from the state. Once remove or disabuse one of this belief, and his teaching is impracticable. And this is precisely what happened in the process of time. The Christ did not return; Christianity could not hold itself from politics.

Has, then, Paulinism no political significance? Before a categorical answer is given one may well decide as to which Paulinism is meant: that which deals with the principles of a religious ethic, or that which deals with the specific application of such principles to an age believed to be rapidly moving toward its end. But the answer in either case is the same. If

<sup>35 1</sup> Thess. 1:6; 2:14, 15.

the latter is meant, Paulinism had a political message for its own day; but that message passed with its day. To reinforce it would mean the triumph of tyranny. If the former is meant, then Paulinism has no specific political message beyond the teaching of Jesus. And this is to say that it has none. Christianity in the teaching of its great apostle, as in that of its Founder, is a life and not a system. It may have political effects; it cannot have a political program. A government is Christian, not when it is a republic rather than a monarchy, or a monarchy rather than a republic; or when its subjects are either indifferents or martyrs. It is Christian when its institutions embody the spirit and are regulated by the principles of Jesus. And that this may be true, revolutions, despite Paul's words to the Roman church, may sometimes be the most sacred of Christian duties.

Thus again it is easy by a resolution of its historical form to discover the fundamental ethic of Pauline Christianity. Its highest good is the living of the eternal life of the Spirit, and its highest imperative is born of the need of living according to the measure of that life already possessed.

# AN OUTLINE FOR STUDYING THE SONG OF SONGS.

By Professor George L. Robinson, Ph.D., McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

1. Its place in the canon of Scripture.—Five Megilloth, or Rolls, were read after the Law in the public service of the synagogue, on five specific festival occasions, viz.:

(1) The Song of Songs, on the eighth day of the Feast of Passover; which was interpreted allegorically with reference to

the history of the exodus.

(2) Ruth, on the second day of the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost.

- (3) Lamentations, on the ninth day of the month Ab—the traditional date of the destruction of both first and second temples.
- (4) Ecclesiastes, on the third day of the Feast of Tabernacles—the most joyful of all the feasts, the book recommending the thankful enjoyment of the pleasures of life.

(5) Esther, at the Feast of Purim (a festival of late origin).

- 2. The name of the book.—In Hebrew it is called "The Song of Songs," שיר השירים; in the Vulgate, Canticum Canticorum; in the LXX, Aισμα ἀσμάτων. We often speak of it ourselves as "Canticles" or "Songs." The title is expressive of its superior excellence. It implies that it is the most precious of songs. Compare the parallel expressions denoting superlativity: "Holy of Holies" (Exod. 26:33), "King of kings" (Ezek. 26:7), "God of gods" and "Lord of lords" (Deut. 10:17), "Hebrew of the Hebrews" (Phil. 3:5).
- 3. Its theme and aim.—Its subject is obviously love; primarily not the love of Christ for his church, nor yet the love of God for Israel, but rather ethical love, the love which triumphs over sensual love. This is enough, surely, to render it "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness" (2 Tim. 3:16, R. V.). The poem glorifies true love (cf. 8:6, 7).

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- 4. The story.—A simple but beautiful Israelitish maiden. named Shulamith, from the little hamlet of Shulem, or Shunem, in the tribe of Issachar (Josh. 19:18) in Galilee, is captured, while dancing in a nut orchard, by Solomon, who, in passing by his vineyard in his chariot, was captivated by her beauty. She is taken to his palace and placed in his harem. Solomon thus plans to appropriate her to himself. But she is already betrothed to a shepherd near her home (possibly her half-brother). The king, assisted by the ladies of the court, do all they can to inflame the lust of this pure maiden, but she persistently refuses to accept of the king's proposals. Four times the king tries to persuade her to become one of his many queens (of whom he had sixty, besides eighty concubines, cf. 6:8), but her heart is steadfastly set on her shepherd lover who is ever present in her fancy. The flatteries of Solomon and of his harem prove in vain, and she is finally allowed to return to her country home and lover. The poem is most oriental.
- 5. How best interpreted.—In form the book is a poem, or idyl, with dramatic unity; not, however, "a series of independent songs," as Siegfried imagines, for no one section is complete in itself. The song is a dramatic poem, without a plot, but oriental and in keeping with Hebrew antiquity. It has been divided into six acts with twelve scenes (as Delitzsch); or five acts with thirteen scenes (as Ewald); or twelve scenes simply (as Curtiss); it is best interpreted by making Solomon, Shulamith, and her (absent) shepherd lover do the most of the speaking. This is the literal method of interpretation, which commends itself to most modern scholars, and does not exclude its deeper spiritual, or typical, signification, as advocated by Zöckler and Green.
  - 6. Analysis or scheme of the poem.

ACT I (1:2-2:7). -THE LOVERS' MEETING.

Scene I (1:2-8).—Imprisoned in the king's harem, Shulamith longs for her absent lover,

I:2-4ab Shulamith addressing her absent shepherd lover as though present.

I: 4cde Ladies of the court singing in praise of Solomon who is feasting near by.

- 1:5.6 Shulamith to the ladies of the harem.
- 1:7 Shulamith to her absent lover.
- 1:8 Ladies ironically to Shulamith.
- Scene 2 (1:9-2:7). Solomon's first attempt to win Shulamith.
  - 1: 0-11 Solomon compares her to his favorite mare.
  - 1:12-14 Shulamith answers him sarcastically; dreams of her lover.
  - 1:15 Solomon flatters her beauty.
  - 1:16, 17 Shulamith, aside, applying his flatteries to her lover.
  - 2:1 Shulamith trying to end her meeting with Solomon.
  - 2:2 Solomon comparing her to the other members of his harem.
  - 2:3, 4 Shulamith, aside, comparing her lover to other men.
  - 2:5 Shulamith, overcome with thoughts of love for her absent lover, begs refreshment from the attendants by.
  - 2:6 Shulamith expressing a wish about her lover.
  - 2:7 Shulamith, "I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, that love is spontaneous."
  - ACT II (2:8-3:5). A MONOLOGUE AND A DREAM OF SHULAMITH.
- Scene 1 (2:8-17).—Shulamith's reminiscence of her shepherd lover.
  - 2:8, Q Recalls how he used to come to see her.
  - 2:10-14 Imagines she hears him singing.
  - 2:15 A snatch of an old familiar song.
  - 2:16, 17 Professes her love for him, inviting him to come over the mountains of separation.
- Scene 2 (3:1-5). Shulamith's dream of her shepherd lover.
  - 3: 1-4 Her first dream, in which she imagines she finds him.
  - 3:5 She repeats her adjuration to the ladies that love cannot be forced.
  - ACT III (3:6-5:8).—HER ROYAL AND SHEPHERD LOVERS IN CONTRAST.
- Scene I (3:6-II).—King Solomon returning in state from an afternoon's excursion.
  - 3:6 First lady calling attention of all to his royal approach.
  - 3:7-10 Second lady describing the escort and the palanquin.
  - 3:11 Eunuch bidding the ladies of the court go forth and meet the king.
- Scene 2 (4:1-7).—Solomon's "proposal" to Shulamith; his second visit.
- Scene 3 (4:8-5:1).—An ideal interview between Shulamith and her shepherd lover.
  - 4:8-15 The lover's impassioned invitation to Shulamith.
  - 4:16 Her own gracious welcome of him.
  - 5: 1abcd His acceptance of her offer.
  - 5: 1ef His address to the wedding guests.

Scene 4 (5:2-8). Shulamith relates her second dream to the ladies.

5:2ab Shulamith dreams that her lover knocks at her door.

5: 2cde Her lover speaks, in imagination.

5:3 Shulamith's reply before rising to let him in.

5:4-7 Shulamith's vain search for him through the city.

5:8 Her repeated adjuration to the ladies.

#### ACT IV (5:9-8:4).—LOVE'S LABOR LOST.

- Scene 1 (5:9-6:3).—Contest between Shulamith and the ladies over their beloved ones.
  - 5:9 The ladies of the court surprised at Shulamith's rejection of Solomon.
  - 5:10-16 Shulamith eloquently describes her absent lover.

6:1 Ladies inquiring more earnestly after him.

6:2, 3 Shulamith's answer to their inquiry.

Scene 2 (6:4-13).— Solomon's third attempt to win Shulamith.

6:4-9 Solomon attempting to win her through flattery.

- 6:10 Solomon quoting what the ladies had said when they first saw her in the nut orchard.
- 6:11, 12 Shulamith excusing herself for being alone when captured.

6:13ab Solomon quoting what the ladies then requested of her.

6:13c Solomon quoting what she replied.

6:13d Solomon quoting what the ladies further requested.

- Scene 3 (7:1-5).—Shulamith having yielded to their solicitations to dance, the ladies of the harem compliment her beauty and grace of person.
- Scene 4 (7:6-8:4). Solomon's final endeavor to woo Shulamith.

7:6-9a Solomon addressing her in lustful language.

7:9b, 10 Shulamith, interrupting, turns the conversation to her shepherd lover, declaring emphatically that she is his, not Solomon's.

7:11—8:3 Shulamith, speaking to her lover as if present, repulses the king.

8:4 Shulamith closing the scene, with the adjuration to the ladies of the court that love is spontaneous and cannot be forced.

## ACT V (8:5-14).—ALLOWED TO RETURN TO HER LOVER.

- Scene i (8:5-7).—Shulamith with her shepherd lover on the way to Shulem.
  - 8:5ab Villagers inquire, "Who comes?"
  - 8:5cde Shulamith pointing to the "apple tree" where they had once sat together.
  - 8:6, 7 Shulamith with deep emotion declaring the irresistible might of true love.

Scene 2 (8:8-14).—With her brothers at home.

- 8:8, 9 Shulamith recalling her brothers' words when she was a little girl.
- 8:10 Shulamith's proud boast that she had maintained her virginity, and how Solomon respected her for it, sending her away in peace.
- 8:11, 12 Shulamith relates how Solomon offered her the vineyard in which he had captured her.
- 8:13 Her shepherd lover, at last, speaks with his own voice requesting a song.
- 8:14 Shulamith begins to sing, requesting him to flee away, but not too far!
- 7. The key of the book is to be found in 8:6,7, "Love is strong as death."

#### 8. Literature.

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# THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS.

By W. R. SCHOEMAKER, Chicago.

WITHIN recent years this ancient gospel, often referred to and quoted by the church fathers of the third and fourth centuries, has become an object of renewed and painstaking study. This fact is due in large part to the light which the Gospel according to the Hebrews sheds upon the question of the origin and development of our canonical gospels. The similarity of the material contained in it to that of Matthew, Mark, and Luke has always been recognized; but it has been tacitly assumed, and often explicitly stated, that the writer of the Gospel according to the Hebrews had simply gathered his material out of the canonical gospels—that in this way he *compiled* a new gospel to suit his own beliefs, and to be used among people of his own theological bias.

More recent investigations have shown that this supposition does not accord with the facts. Scholars at present, therefore, are maintaining a different view, namely, that the Gospel of the Hebrews, like the canonical gospels, had its rise in the first century among the proto-gospels which were the ancestors of the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke as we know them. If this be so, this extra-canonical gospel clearly has important data to contribute toward the solution of the synoptic problem. At this time many scholars in Germany, and a few in England, are investigating the facts and bearings involved (see names and titles at the close of the article).

The Gospel according to the Hebrews does not seem to have survived beyond the fourth or fifth century. Consequently our explicit knowledge of its contents is limited to some fragments which have been preserved by reason of their being quoted in the writings of the church fathers. In the so-called Apostolic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These fragments may be seen in RESCH'S Agrapha; ROPES'S Die Sprüche Jesu, PREUSCHEN'S Antilegomena, and NESTLE'S Novi Testamenti Graeci Supplementum. A

Fathers (Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Barnabas, Shepherd of Hermas, etc.) the Gospel according to the Hebrews is not mentioned specifically by name, and quotations from it are found only once or twice, even these being somewhat doubtful. Clement of Alexandria, at the beginning of the third century, is the first writer who cites it explicitly, and he but once. Origen cites it three times. Eusebius three, Epiphanius ten, and Jerome (toward the close of the fourth century) nineteen times. Of these men Clement, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome clearly had a copy of the gospel in their possession. It seems more likely that Epiphanius obtained his information by hearsay and from the writings of others. Hence for real evidence concerning the book we are limited to the church fathers of the third and fourth centuries, and especially to Jerome. However, Eusebius says Hegesippus used the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and gives a quotation from him. Since this evidence seems trustworthy, we have a witness for the book as early as 170 A. D. He also mentions Papias in connection with the gospel, though he does not say that Papias possessed a copy of it or quoted from it. He simply says that Papias told a story which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains. If this evidence has any weight, we can trace the gospel back to 140 A. D. at least; but certainty is not to be had here.

The title "The Gospel according to the Hebrews" designates merely the class of readers among whom it circulated. They were Jewish Christians (or a particular sect of such) who still spoke the Aramaic language. Eusebius is the first to tell us that the Ebionites, who were the stricter sect of the Jewish Christians, maintaining that the Mosaic law was binding, not only upon them, but upon the gentile Christians as well, used this gospel. Epiphanius and Jerome confirm this evidence. Jerome, however, found it also among the Nazarenes of Syria; they were the more liberal class of Jewish Christians, who observed the law translation of them is given in Nicholson's Gospel according to the Hebrews, pp. 28-

77; and elsewhere. One of the finest of these extra-canonical sayings (found in CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromata*, ii, 45, specifically attributed to the Gospel according to the Hebrews), reads: "He who wonders [in awe and with reverential faith] shall reign, and he who reigns shall rest" (cf. Matt. 11:28).

themselves, though they did not hold it to be required of the gentiles. Jerome was permitted by them to transcribe a copy of the gospel. Later he found another copy in the library at Cæsarea (mentioned also by Eusebius). "The Gospel according to the Hebrews" appears to have been the name applied to it by the larger Greek-speaking church. Probably the Jewish Christians themselves called it simply "the gospel," since it was the only one which they possessed.

There is a difference of opinion as to the language in which it was first composed. Some (e.g., Resch) hold that it was written in the Greek and then later translated into the Hebrew; others (Hilgenfeld, Nicholson, and Handmann), that it was originally written in Aramaic and then translated into Greek. The latter view is at present held by almost all scholars, and seems decidedly the more probable.

That the gospel existed in both languages is perfectly clear, for Jerome says that he translated the Aramaic copy which he found in Syria into both Greek and Latin. And it is quite likely that even before this time it had existed in Greek, for the quotations which Clement and Origen make are most likely from a Greek translation. This earlier translation into Greek seems to have dropped into oblivion because of the increasing preference for the canonical Greek gospels; hence, by the time of Jerome the Greek form of the Gospel according to the Hebrews was practically unknown and was reproduced by him.

As to its canonicity there was also a difference of opinion. Origen classes it among the "disputed writings." Hence there must have been a large body of Jewish Christians who regarded it as their authority regarding the life, work, and teaching of Jesus. Eusebius states that some placed it among the "rejected writings." Jerome often cites it as though it were a trustworthy source. Beyond this we know very little of its status.

If now we turn to the content of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as revealed in the fragments which have come down to us, we see at a glance that the gospel gave an account of the life, teaching, and work of Jesus, beginning with the baptism and closing with his resurrection appearances. Hence, so far as

this evidence goes, it shows a rather close parallel to our synoptic gospels. The presentation is simple, thoughtful, lifelike; for the most part it shows its primitive character by the absence of the marvelous and fantastic which adorn the apocryphal gospels. The gospel does not bear the marks of having been constructed to inculcate any particular theological tenets, except possibly in its Jewish view as to the origin and nature of Christ.

It is, in the main, a simple historical narrative whose purpose seems to have been to preserve the living, evangelical tradition for present and future use. Though following most closely the synoptic gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, it differs from them at many points. More than one-fourth of the material found in the thirty fragments is not found in the canonical gospels. Of the material which it has in common with them, there are eleven parallels with Matthew, twelve with Luke, and seven with Mark. The latter seven, however, are all common to both Matthew and Luke; and of those passages showing similarities to Matthew and to Luke, at least five are common to both. Hence, alongside of the element common to the synoptic tradition, this gospel contains independent coincidences with Matthew and with Luke separately, though the coincidences with Matthew are more sharply defined than those with Luke.

This shows that any theory of the origin of this gospel that would account for all the facts must explain these coincidences with Luke as well as those with Matthew. Writers on the subject have seldom been careful enough to keep this in mind. They have usually given more weight to the statements of the church fathers, as to the origin of the gospel, than to the nature of its contents. There was a strong tradition in the early church, vouched for by Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerome, that Matthew had written a gospel in the Hebrew language. Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Jerome identify the Gospel according to the Hebrews with this Hebrew gospel of Matthew, and modern writers have been inclined to make the same identification. There is no certainty about this, however; for, while Jerome is explicit enough in affirming that very many

believed them to be the same, the statements of his own belief regarding it vary so much that we are not certain what he thought. And it must also be borne in mind that Irenæus and Epiphanius had not seen the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or at least had not examined it as to its contents.

With these facts before us we are now in a position to estimate the significance of the two tendencies mentioned at the beginning of this article. The older view, which regarded this gospel as later than the canonical gospels, and as in some way compiled from them, was upheld by such great scholars as the following: Delitzsch, Ewald, Anger, Weizsäcker, Strauss, Keim, Holtzmann, and, recently, Resch. These men all laid great stress on the external evidence derived from the church fathers. Since the gospel was not mentioned by name until the third and fourth centuries, and then sometimes connected with Matthew. it seemed probable that it was a late compilation from the gospel of Matthew. The internal evidence of the gospel was largely overlooked. Since Resch is the ablest modern defender of this view, we may use him as an example. He holds that the source of this gospel was undoubtedly the first canonical gospel, for the Jewish Christians called it "according to Matthew," and it shows a strong Jewish-Christian tendency. He traces four stages in its historical development: (1) the Jewish Christians used only the canonical gospel of Matthew; (2) their descendants and followers - Cerinthus, Carpocrates, etc. - excised certain portions of the gospel of Matthew which contradicted their peculiar beliefs; (3) larger portions were cast aside, and wilful changes of words and phrases were made in the text; (4) still larger changes were made in the text and longer portions were added. In this way the Gospel according to the Hebrews arose. It is easy to see that this theory does full justice to what the fathers say about the gospel, but the difficulty is that it fails to account for its many close parallelisms with the gospel of Luke.

The more recent theory, that the gospel is not a compilation from the canonical Matthew, but is at least as old as, and probably older than, our synoptic gospels, is maintained by Hilgenfeld, Zahn, Nicholson, Harnack, Handmann, Krüger, McGiffert,

Ropes, and others. These men lay great stress on the internal evidence of the gospel, and by this means are able to show quite conclusively that it was in existence long before the limited external evidence gives any clear indication of the fact. Hilgenfeld, who was the first consistent champion of this view, holds that the Hebrew gospel of Matthew mentioned by Papias was just this Gospel according to the Hebrews. At first our extracanonical gospel went by the name "according to Matthew," but later, because it was the only gospel of the Jewish Christians. it came to be called "according to the Hebrews." This gospel was continually undergoing change. New recensions were put forth from time to time. It was early translated into Greek, and. in that form came into the hands of Clement and Origen. The views of Zahn and McGiffert are practically the same as those of Hilgenfeld. Nicholson supposes that the writer of the canonical Matthew was also, probably at a different time, the author of the Gospel according to the Hebrews-or at least of that portion of the latter which runs parallel to the former. Harnack holds that the Gospel according to the Hebrews can neither have been the model (Vorlage) nor the translation of the canonical Matthew, but a work independent of this, though drawing from the same sources; perhaps it represented to some extent an earlier stage of the evangelic tradition.

Handmann, who has gone to the extreme length of this tendency, maintains that the close parallelism of the gospel with Luke as well as with Matthew shows that it must be related to both; the contents are parallel to Matthew and then to Luke in such a way that it is impossible to establish any rule for the vacillation. Further, if we also take into consideration the matter peculiar to this gospel, Handmann thinks it quite clear that the Gospel according to the Hebrews in its earliest form contained a tradition independent of both Matthew and Luke, and probably represented a primitive stage of the collected evangelic narrative. Then it constituted one of the primary sources of the final gospels, and was afterward incorporated into the canonical Matthew and Luke. He infers, therefore, that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was nothing other than the

Aramaic Logia of Matthew (so called by Papias), and, in conjunction with the original Mark, made up the two chief sources for the first and third canonical gospels. Of these two primitive documents he regards the Aramaic Logia (i. e., also in his opinion the Gospel according to the Hebrews in its first form) as the earlier. He asks, if the Logia of Matthew contained narrative material as well as sayings of Jesus, may it not have been exactly the Gospel according to the Hebrews? Handmann thus sums up the results of his painstaking investigation.

The purpose here is not to defend the individual opinion of any one of these scholars, but to call attention to the common ground occupied by them all. So far they agree: that this gospel is at least as old as, and probably older than, the synoptic gospels of our canon; that it issued from the common early gospel tradition, and so may be a source of, or at least a concomitant of, our canonical Matthew and Luke. Nor is this the only one of the extra-canonical or "apocryphal" gospels which can with likelihood be dated as coming from that first period of the transmission of the evangelic narrative. Harnack seems to have shown quite conclusively that the Gospel according to the Egyptians is a similar production, though in this case we are unfortunate in possessing so few quotations from it. If, as Harnack maintains, the Oxyrhynchus "logia," or sayings of Jesus, recently discovered, were extracts from this gospel, our knowledge of its contents is somewhat increased. In these two gospels then, and probably also in others, we have a new source of information toward the solution of the difficult question of gospel origins. If this be so, it is only another witness to the statement, put forth by Luke in the preface to his gospel, that many had taken in hand to draw up a gospel narrative. It shows how numerous were the attempts to write a gospel history, and how many differences of form and content distinguished these several attempts from each other. It was as successors to such primitive documents, as well as out of such primitive documents as sources, that our canonical gospels arose. Then, because of their greater completeness, their higher historical value, and their better literary quality—in short,

because of their intrinsic worth and purity—they steadily surpassed all earlier and competing gospels, driving them from the field, and winning their way to absolute recognition and use in the church.

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## THE CONSECRATION OF THE TEACHER.

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There is an old legend which tells of a time when a great drought oppressed the land and men were crying out to God for rain. It is said that certain of the rabbis were met together in special supplication, but still the heavens were as brass. While thus engaged, there came to them one whose aspect was venerable and mild, and out of whose eyes there looked a soul of gentleness and love. He heard their tale of need and how they had prayed in vain, and, lifting his eyes to heaven, he breathed a simple prayer for relief; and lo, the clouds were gathered and refreshing showers descended upon the earth. At once there was great amazement and joy. The others gathered about him to learn his name. They would fain know him whose prayer could work such results. And he replied, with gentle grace and courtesy: "I am known as one who is the teacher of little children."

This is but a legend, but, like many another legend, it holds a mighty truth. It voices a conviction which has been instinctive with thoughtful men ever, that the place of the teacher is one of great importance and high honor in the sight of God. This has always been true; never more true than now; and it is a hopeful sign of our times that this fact is pressing more urgently for attention.

If we look back over the history of the church, both Jewish and Christian, we shall find that the value of the teacher's work was long ago realized and highly appreciated. The Jewish rabbis taught that a boy's teacher should have the place of highest honor. "The true guardians of the city are the teachers," was one of their sayings, not at all out of date for our generation. "He who teaches the child of his fellow-man shall occupy a prominent place among the saints above," said another, and the words sound strangely like that noble prophecy, "They that be

wise [or, the teachers] shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."

The same high estimate of the teacher's position was carried over into the early Christian church, and it was not until the growth of ritualism and the hierarchy of the Middle Ages that this function of the church's activity fell into comparative decay. It is a fact well worth noting that, during the past history of the church, whenever much attention has been paid to the teaching of religious truth, there has been a corresponding increase of spiritual power, and whenever the exercise of this teaching function was allowed to lapse, there has been a corresponding decay in the vital energy of the church. It matters little which of these phenomena we assign as cause or effect; the fact remains that they go together.

Not only does this hold good as we compare one period with another, but in any single period, if we seek out those that stand forth as the most truly Christian, the most spiritually minded, we find them those who are paying the greatest attention to our Lord's command: "Go, teach." Look for the religious teachers of the Middle Ages, and they are found among the Waldenses, living in caves and dens for the sake of their faith. Read of the Huguenots, the "Brethren of the Common Lot," or any of those godly sects, and you find them men who taught their children to fear God and serve him for conscience sake.

If this means anything at all, it means that when the Master commanded his disciples to teach, he spoke advisedly. It ought to mean that there is nothing in our church life more important than this exercise of the teaching function. The great problem of life is education. The mind of the race is growing all the while, and it is for the educator to see that these mental powers are developed in the right direction. But no man's education is complete if religious instruction be omitted. One may know all mysteries of science and literature; he may sweep the heavens with the telescope, or peer into the secrets of nature with the microscope; but if in all this he see not God, he is but poorly educated after all.

Now, where do we find ourselves as we confront this phase of the educational problem? We have a system of public education that we are justly proud of. Never have the various questions that meet the teacher been so well understood as today. But what is this great system doing for the religious instruction of our children? Practically nothing. As our ideas of civil and religious liberty have developed, we have come to feel that no one should be compelled to help support a school system in which his children will be taught religious views that he himself does not share. And, as men do not think alike on religious matters, religious instruction is barred from the public schools. Sometimes we deplore this, but, whether we do or not, the fact remains that our children do not receive that religious training, without which they will not be fully educated, in the public schools. This responsibility rests upon the home and the church. But, as a matter of fact, many homes do not, many cannot, do what might be expected of them, and few indeed are the homes that are competent to give all that is needed of religious teaching.

The situation, then, lies clearly before us; upon the church, at present, rests the main burden of responsibility for the instruction of its young people in religious truth, and for the mission church this must long continue to be the fact. And the church must meet this demand through the agency of those who teach in her schools. In view of this fact, the necessity for a complete and thorough consecration of those upon whom such a task devolves becomes apparent, and we shall realize this in increasing measure as we examine more closely all that the work involves.

Now, we shall make a great gain in the consideration of this topic if we put away from our minds any mystical ideas of what consecration means. The word means simply a setting apart for some particular purpose or work. The church has adopted the term to signify the act of appointment to some service within the range of its activities, and the word has come to have a peculiarly religious meaning not always normal.

Any act of consecration for church work, if it be thorough

and complete, is threefold. It may be difficult to assign an exact order for the process, but practically we may say that, first of all, the man consecrates himself by his willingness to enter upon the work and by pledging himself to every possible effort to do it efficiently; then the church consecrates him by its formal act of appointment, whether that be exercised through an ecclesiastical officer, or governing board, or by direct vote of the church itself; and thirdly—and surely the completion of this is last of all—God consecrates his servant to his work, as, through one experience and another, sometimes bitter and hard to bear, sometimes of purest and rarest joy, he trains and develops those powers which are brought out in the performance of duty.

Let us consider chiefly the first part of this threefold act: the self-consecration of the individual to his work, the particular work in this case being that of teaching in the Bible school. And again let us remember that we are to look at the matter from a very simple and practical standpoint; for, after all, the simplest is apt to be the truest, and often the most profound. God's ways of working are usually more natural and direct than man's theorizing about them. Let us recall our definition, and say that a man's consecration of himself means his acceptance of a call to service, with the sincere purpose of discharging its duties to the best of his ability. To be willing to do a thing, and to be resolved to do one's best at it—this is self-consecration.

How, then, ought one to approach the question of teaching in the Bible school? It is to be hoped that we have all answered this question by saying that the teacher should be called of God to his work. This the writer believes with all his heart. Every fresh consideration of the work, with its manifold problems and responsibilities, deepens the conviction that the teacher of divine truth needs the moral support that springs from a consciousness of the divine commission.

But how does God call men to his service? How else than through those natural faculties of perception and reasoning that he has given us for the purpose? In one way or another, either by direct invitation from without or by some inward perception of need, God lays before every thoughtful person many different lines of service for his consideration. Every church member finds himself surrounded by opportunities for work. The pastor wants helpers in his pastoral visitation; the ladies want assistance in their charitable enterprises; the superintendent wants teachers in the Bible school. What is one to do? It becomes the duty of everyone in such a case to ask himself seriously and thoughtfully which of these varied tasks he can do to the best advantage. Should a direct invitation come to take up some one line of work, that ought at least to concentrate attention until the worker can decide whether the call is for him or not.

The point of all this is that any real call to duty involves two things for every man: first, the perception of something that needs to be done; second, the consciousness of some degree of fitness for the service.

In all this we do not forget that no conscientious person ever undertakes a great work without knowing that he is far from being perfectly fitted for it. A thoroughly conceited man does not make a good teacher for the Bible school. Indeed, we question if the highest usefulness as a teacher of anything is possible to a genuinely egotistical person. But neither is false modesty desirable—that spirit which claims to be utterly incapable and unworthy to render the meanest service to its Lord. There has often been too much of such talk among Christian workers, and it is almost worse than the other extreme. In no way can strong, fair-minded boys and girls be more effectually repelled from the kingdom than by indulgence in this sort of cant. A conception of the Christian life which is not even normally self-respecting is not likely to attract a healthy young nature. There are few, indeed, who are not gifted with at least one talent, which should be gratefully received. To deny and repudiate it is an insult to our Maker. If a person be invited to teach in the Bible school, it should be fair evidence that, in the judgment of its officers at least, he has some degree of fitness for the task. For courtesy's sake, if on no other ground, their judgment should not be impeached except upon the strongest grounds of certainty.

In order that one may be competent to judge of his fitness or unfitness for any task, he must have a clear comprehension of what that task involves. And this brings us to a fundamental question that needs to be clearly understood in these days when we are asking how to make our Bible schools more effective. What is the Bible school for? What does it demand of its officers and teachers, in order that it may fulfil its whole mission? The question is not new. It has been frequently asked; and if much of the abundant discussion of the Bible school has been fruitless, it is because so many of the answers to this question have been at one or the other of two extremes. On the one hand we find those who tell us that the Bible school is an educational institution pure and simple, and that all problems of evangelistic work belong to the church. On the other hand are those who say that the Sunday school is an evangelistic agency, and that educational problems as such have no place in its discussions. Both views are wrong. If we take something from each, we shall find a truer solution. The Bible school is a department of the church. As such its ultimate end and purpose is the development of Christian character; to bring those within its sphere of influence to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and to an honest and aggressive life of Christian service. This is the only ground upon which any organization, whatever its name or sign, has any right to exist within the church of Christ.

But while this must be the ultimate purpose of every church organization, each has its own particular contribution to make toward the realization of their common aim. The minister is to preach, the deacons serve at tables, the trustees care for financial matters, other organizations strive to create a cordial social atmosphere, the Bible school is for teaching. Preaching has a large place in the work of the kingdom, but so has teaching, and the former without the latter has never produced the best results. The primary object of the Bible school, therefore, is instruction which is for righteousness, the impartation of that religious knowledge without which no man's education is complete. And the first duty of the Bible-school teacher is to teach. Having this fact clearly in mind, we are in position to inquire

as to the demands which such a task will make upon him who undertakes it.

There are two great requisites for success in teaching: first, that the teacher shall know his subject; and second, that he shall know his pupils. This very simple statement involves a great deal. Let us consider it in detail.

The teacher must know his subject. That subject for the Bible-school teacher is the Bible and the truths that grow out of it or are connected with it. The teacher, then, must know his Bible. This means far more than that he shall be able to take some detached portion and, with the aid of various helps, glean from it a moral lesson that may be urged upon a class. It means that he shall be able to read his Bible comprehensively, the stories of the patriarchs in the light of their religious meanings to the children of Israel; that he shall know the historical setting and application of the great prophetic addresses and discern the moral principles that underlie them. He should understand the deeper meanings of Israel's history in their growth toward higher ideals and purer religion. He should recognize in that growth the type and picture of the development that is going on in the life of every individual. He should be familiar with the life of Christ in all its details and historical associations. and be able to present that sublime picture of the noblest man that ever lived; he should also know the teachings of Christ and discern there the words of one who spoke as never man spoke, the voice of the Son of God. He should know the history of the Christian church and how it grew up out of the Jewish system, influenced by its ideals and borrowing from its life. He should know how the early Fathers lived and with whom they associated and worked, that he may understand their writings and what they mean. Besides all this he should learn much that is not contained in the Bible itself, but which God has given no less truly to increase our knowledge of himself, and without which much that is in the Bible will not be clearly understood: the wonderful discoveries that today are throwing light upon nearly every period of ancient history, the history of the church since apostolic times, the great missionary movements

—all of which speak so powerfully of the grandeur and progress of the kingdom of God. The teacher should know this, and to what end? That he may be able to present to the minds of his pupils these great characters and events, so clearly and so vividly that they shall bring their own lesson without the need of his pointing the moral for them. The moral truths which suggest themselves to our minds are of far greater value and effectiveness than any that may be thought out for us by another.

Let us not make the mistake of saying that this standard is ideal, and that no one can hope to attain to it. Remember that we are speaking of the teacher in the abstract, the teacher as a class. It is not contended that any one teacher can hope to possess the knowledge requisite for successful teaching in all these subjects. Why should we expect it? We do not ask any teacher in our public schools to teach everything in the curriculum. As teachers we expect them to specialize more or less, in order that each may become proficient in certain subjects. Should we have a higher ideal for the teaching of arithmetic or geography than we have for instruction in the Word of God? We need graded teachers as well as graded lessons in our Bible schools.

The second requisite for successful teaching is knowledge of the pupil. This means something more than that the teacher shall be able to call the members of his class by name and exchange frequent visits with them. All this is needful, but much more as well. The teacher should know his pupil in a far deeper sense. He should study his nature; he should know what general mental and moral characteristics he may reasonably expect in a boy or girl of that particular age. He should study the fundamental laws that govern the mental development of the child; he should understand how closely these are related to the physical growth, and how much both have to do with the spiritual life. As a result of such study the teacher will realize that the child of six is an entirely different creature, mentally and spiritually as well, from the boy of twelve or fourteen, and that he again has changed by the time he approaches young

manhood. In the light of such facts he will understand that, if the pupil is to grasp and assimilate any truth, it must be presented in such form and manner as shall be adapted to that stage of development which the child has reached. Indeed, if we did but recognize the fact, nothing is more clearly taught in Scripture than this very thing. Why, we sometimes ask, did not God make the full revelation of himself in the person of Jesus Christ at the beginning of man's history, instead of waiting until hundreds of generations had wrestled in agony with the problem of right and wrong? Why, indeed, if not because in those earlier periods of the race's history it would have been absolutely impossible for them to grasp the truth as it is in Christ Jesus? Thus God, in his infinite wisdom, adapted his revelation to man's comprehension, and we should follow his example.

Child-study, psychology, the laws of teaching based upon them—these, and kindred topics, may well enter into the training of the Bible-school teacher, no less than of the teacher in the public school. Many an earnest, faithful soul has struggled with a class, apparently all in vain, and at last has given up in despair, when the scene might have been changed into one of victory by the knowledge of a few elementary principles of psychology.

Thus should the ideal teacher study his subject and his pupil, and rest content only when nothing more remains to be learned of either, which means never. Complete self-consecration to such a work means the resolve to devote oneself persistently, untiringly, so far as time and strength shall permit, to advancement along these lines.

In thus presenting his conception of the ideal, consecrated teacher, the writer is quite conscious that little has been said upon one phase of the question which should never be lost sight of in such discussions, viz., the religious responsibility of the teacher. But the reader will recall that at the very outset the ultimate end and aim of the Bible school was stated to be the development of Christian character. This being granted, it is a necessary inference that those who teach in such a school must be genuinely Christian, wholesomely spiritual. We have not dwelt at length upon this phase of the ques-

tion, because we desire to emphasize just now the specific contribution which the teacher has to make to the upbuilding of his Master's kingdom, namely, teaching. The religious responsibility of the teacher is something that ought to be regarded as fundamental, the one thing above all others that may safely be assumed at the outset of any discussion of Bible-school work. Nor need we be at all fearful lest additional emphasis upon the educational value of our work may diminish our sense of its spiritual purpose. No earnest Christian man can face the mighty problem of religious instruction for the young people of our land, knowing the supreme importance of the question, not only now but to all eternity, and study into the various details of the teacher's work as we have presented it, without becoming possessed of a higher ideal of the type of Christian character demanded for such a task. No matter how learned our teacher may be, no matter how well versed in the mysteries of child-nature—if he have not a character that is thoroughly, nobly Christian, he will fall far short. It is not enough that he should be able to construct earnest homilies upon the lessons. It is comparatively easy to preach. It is also comparatively useless in a Bible-school class. What is needed is that the teacher shall live such a life in the presence of his fellow-men as shall, by its purity, its nobility, its manly winsomeness, create in the heart of his scholars a desire to know the secret of such a life. As someone has well said: "A Sunday-school teacher's real lesson is what he is seven days in the week, rather than what he says one day in the week." But let us ever keep in mind the fact that such a character will have its fullest influence upon others as they are trained to know God. And they will come to know him best as they are taught that which the Bible and nature and history have to say about him. If our children can be brought to know him, whom to know aright is life eternal, we can safely trust him for the outcome.

It will be said, no doubt, as it often has been said, that all of this is ideal, and beyond the reach of the average teacher. But a high ideal ought not to be a valid objection to any Christian service. This paper has indeed dealt with ideals. Some of

these are already approaching realization here and there; many more may be realized, at least in part, much sooner and much more readily than some of us think. This much is certainly true that none of them will ever be realized by anyone who does not work toward them. The conception of the teacher's work which has been presented implies graded work in the Bible school, with lessons as carefully prepared and as well adapted to the varying needs of scholars as anything that we have in the public schools; it implies better provision than most churches now have for the supervision and conduct of their schools; it implies trained superintendents and grade leaders; it implies better provision for the training of teachers in the subjects they are to teach; it implies better methods of Bible study; but it does not necessarily imply any greater amount of personal willingness or intellectual ability than are now to be found in large numbers of our Bible-school teachers. The writer knows of two schools where efficient work has been commenced along these lines, both of them in mission districts, where the average of well-educated people is far lower than in most of our churches, and yet the boys and girls in these churches are learning to know their Bibles.

Let us not be afraid of high ideals, neither discouraged at their presentation. But one thing should prove really discouraging, and that is the lack of such ideals, or the unwillingness to work toward them.

# Exploration and Discovery.

Figurines from Tell Sandahannah.—In the summer of the year 1900 Dr. F. J. Bliss and Mr. Stewart Macalister excavated a mound lying about twenty-three miles southwest of Jerusalem and known to the Arabs by the name of Tell Sandahannah. This name suggests Saint Anne, although the history of the tell has not been fully made out, and

Colonel C. R. Conder, who is wont to have an independent opinion in such matters, holds that the basis of the word is not Saint Anne, but Saint John. The mound is but twenty feet in height, of accumulated débris, and therefore could not have been very long or very largely inhabited. The diameter is about five hundred feet, affording a field not too large to be thoroughly explored. Seventy-two days of labor with a force of thirty-seven men were devoted to it.

The results were unusually copious in view of the comparative poverty of Palestine in objects of the first archæological value. Fifty inscribed tablets in stone—some Hebrew, mostly Greek, an inscribed weight, a large

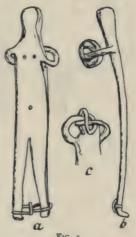


FIG. I.

bronze lamp, smaller lamps, thirty jars, sixty vases, one hundred and sixty bowls and plates, a cupid, seventy-five coins, three Greek inscriptions naming Arsinoe and Berenice, sixteen figurines in lead and one in terra cotta, were obtained. It is to the figurines that attention is now called.

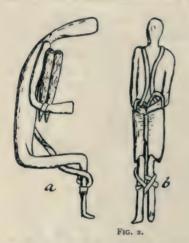
1. Lead figurines.— Sixteen figurines were found. They are made of thin strips of lead cut into shape and slightly rounded or thickened at the head. No attempt was made to represent faces. The arms and feet are represented as bound in a variety of ways, and the bindings are of lead, iron, or bronze. In Fig. 1 a bronze wire is used; in Fig. 2, one of lead. In the latter figure, besides the bindings, iron spikes

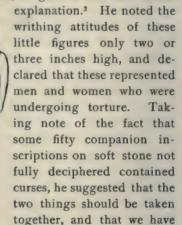
<sup>1</sup> Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, January, 1901, p. 59.

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid., October, 1900, pp. 319-38.

are represented as driven between or through the arms. The remaining figures are less complete, but all embody the same idea of bonds.

It is not strange that Dr. Bliss should have supposed these to be figures of captives, and they were so described in his report; but as soon as M. Clermont-Ganneau saw the report, he gave a new and better





here indications of sorcery.

Lead was used because it was so easily melted when, at the conclusion of the incantation, it was cast into the flame. The sorcerer bound the figure of his victim to induce upon him or her a captive and helpless condition, and then tortured those under his spell.

Dr. Bliss accepted this view, and the confirmation has been strengthened by Professor Wünsche, of Breslau, who has examined drawings of both the figurines and the soft-stone inscriptions, and who cites instances of the Greek practice by which revenge was sought for by the use of a lead tablet and figurine placed in a temple before the image of the god whose power was invoked. More definitely, Professor O. C. Whitehouse, in the article "Magic" in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, speaks of what he calls "sympathetic magic," and says that it was practiced in the belief that the symbolic acts of the sorcerers would have their effect upon the one bewitched. Thus knots would be tied in a rope, and formulas would be repeated with each knot to cause the strangling of the victim. Images of the victim were also made in some soft material and were burned to bring a like fate upon him or her.

<sup>3</sup> P. E. F. Quarterly Statement, January, 1901, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., July, 1901, p. 307.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., October, 1901, p. 325.

Whitehouse also cites from Tallqvist the following translation from the Babylonian:

The witch who has charmed me,

Through the charm with which she has charmed me, charm her;

Those who have made images of me, reproducing my features,

Who have taken away my breath, torn my hair,

Who have rent my clothes, have hindered my feet from treading the dust, May the fire-god, the strong one, break their charm.<sup>6</sup>

The basis of this article on magic is the treatise which we owe to Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., on *The Religion of Babylonia and* Assyria.<sup>7</sup> He there speaks of

the making of an image of the desired victim of clay, pitch, honey, fat, or other soft material, and either by burning it inflict physical tortures upon the person represented, or by undertaking various symbolical acts with it, such as burying it among the dead, placing it in a coffin, casting it into a pit or into a fountain, hiding it in an inaccessible place, placing it in spots that had a peculiar significance, as the doorposts, threshold, or gates, would prognosticate in this way a fate corresponding to one of these acts for the unfortunate victim.

Even more complete is the account of figurines of this kind given by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge in *Egyptian Magic*, wherein a chapter is devoted to "Magical Figures," the following statements from which are noteworthy:

In the reign of Neb-ka of the IIId dynasty a wax figure of a crocodile was made for the purpose of executing vengeance on an adulterer.<sup>8</sup> In the reign of Rameses III. a conspiring magician made wax figures of men in order to cause the persons so represented to become helpless.<sup>9</sup> In the Book of the Dead the serpent Apep, which seeks to destroy the soul, is said to be conquerable by putting a wax figure of him upon the fire six times in a day.<sup>10</sup> And in the Book of the Dead it was also directed that all the fiends in the train of Apep should be represented by figures tied with a black hair, cast upon the ground, kicked with the left foot, pierced with a stone spear, and then cast into the fire.<sup>11</sup> Dr. Budge also gives the tradition in regard to Alexander the Great, that Aristotle gave Alexander a number of wax figures nailed down in a box, which was fastened by a chain, and which he must never let go out of his hand or the hand of a trusted servant,

<sup>6</sup>TALLQVIST, Makla, Vol. I, pp. 130 f. <sup>8</sup> P. 68. <sup>10</sup> P. 81.

7 P. 268. 9 P. 75. 11 P. 83.

for these figures represented the armies which Alexander would meet. Some of these figures held in their hands swords bent backward, and others held spears pointed downward, and others had bows with the strings cut, and all were laid face downward in the box.<sup>12</sup>

We have modern instances. Upham's Salem Witchcraft says that



Front View.



Side View.

Fig. 3.

a witch was believed to operate by making up a doll or a figure of some animal. She would will the puppet to represent the person whom she purposed to torment; and then whatever she did to the puppet would be suffered by the party it represented at any distance. A pin stuck into the puppet would pierce the flesh of the person. So would a pinch or blow. When anyone was arrested on the charge of witchcraft, a search was made for puppets from garret to cellar of his house.<sup>13</sup>

In one of the trials at Salem "witnesses testified that they found in the house of the accused "several puppets made up of rags and hogs" bristles with headless pins in them with the points outward."

<sup>12</sup> TALLQVIST, Vol. I, p. 95. <sup>13</sup> UPHAM, Vol. I, p. 408. <sup>14</sup> Vol. II, p. 266.

Middleton's play The Witch (about 1600 A. D.) says: 15

Neccat. Is the heart of wax stuck full of magique needles?

Stadlin. 'Tis done, Neccat.

Neccat. And is the farmer's picture and his wives layd downe to the fire yet?

Stadlin. They are roasting both too.

Neccat. Good. Then their marrowes are a melting subtelly, and three monthes sickness sucks up life.

2. Terra-cotta figurine.— The other figure (Fig. 3) is much more attractive, but at the same time less plain. Some careful research leads to the conclusion that the explanation of it is to be sought, not along the line of the representations of the Queen of Heaven, Astarte, Ashtoreth, but on the line of Christian art. The most distinctive mark is the headdress. Several representations of the Madonna and saints found in the Logg Museum at Cambridge strongly resemble this head. Reuber's History of Mediaval Art' gives such a representation of the Madonna Rucallai by Cimabue in the church of S. Maria Novella in Florence.

If this interpretation be correct, we may recur to the name of the *tell* and reflect that Sandahannah probably means that a shrine was there raised to Anna the mother of Mary or to Anna the prophetess mentioned in Luke 2:36-38; probably to the former, for she had churches in her honor and was prominently named in the apocryphal gospels.

THEODORE F. WRIGHT.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

15 In Act I, scene 2.

 $^{16}$  Catalogued as  $\frac{138.821}{1}$ ,  $\frac{138.912}{2}$ ,  $\frac{138.566}{8}$ ,  $\frac{138.566}{7^4}$ .

17 P. 661.

# The Council of Sebenty.

The Council of Seventy, the members of which are representative Bible scholars and teachers from many American universities and theological seminaries, has extended its organization to include a body of three hundred associate members. To this associate membership the Council has invited certain educators and ministers who stand for a higher religious education, and who have shown special interest and ability in promoting the best kind of biblical knowledge and study. By this extension of its membership the Council increases its representative character, hoping thereby to effect a national organization which can competently and successfully lead the growing, earnest movement for adequate religious instruction in America. That the conditions are ripe for this vital advance all thinking people are agreed; and that some central organization can best unify and direct the advance seems clear. For this great work the Council exists, and the possibilities of its activity cannot be measured.

The selection of the three hundred associate members will take some time; up to date, August 1, the following men had accepted membership:

Mr. Augustus L. Abbott, St. Louis, Mo. President G. D. Adams, Des Moines, Ia. Rev. Anson P. Atterbury, New York city. President George Bailey, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Rev. Lemuel C. Barnes, Pittsburg, Pa.
Professor Morgan Barnes, Grove City, Pa.
Rev. George Batchelor, Boston, Mass.
Rev. W. C. Bitting, New York city.
Rev. Amory Bradford, Montclair, N. J.
President Dan F. Bradley, Grinnell, Ia.
Rev. J. W. Bradshaw, Oberlin, O.
Rev. A. H. Briggs, San Francisco, Calif.
Rev. Everett D. Burr, Newton Centre,
Mass

Rev. Camden N. Cobern, Chicago, Ill. Rev. William H. Day, Los Angeles, Calif. Rev. H. P. DeForest, Detroit, Mich. Rev. Patterson Du Bois, Philadelphia, Pa. Rev. A. E. Dunning, Boston, Mass. Rev. W. G. Fennell, Newark, N. J. Rev. J. H. Garrison, St. Louis, Mo. Rev. Charles W. Gordon, Winnipeg, Can. Rev. Carl Grammar, Norfolk, Va. Rev. David H. Greer, New York city. Rev. David Gregg, Brooklyn, N. Y. Rev. F. W. Gunsaulus, Chicago, Ill. Rev. Teunis Hamlin, Washington, D. C. Rev. M. C. Hazard, Boston, Mass. Dr. W. L. Hervey, New York city. Professor J. I. D. Hinds, Nashville, Tenn. Professor Howell Haydn, Cleveland, O. Rev. Richard Hodge, New York city. Rev. L. B. Longacre, New York city. Rev. Rivington D. Lord, Brooklyn, N. Y. Rev. R. L. Marsh, Burlington, Ia. Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, Jerusalem, Syria.

Rev. John McKamy, Nashville, Tenn. President I. K. McLean, Berkeley, Calif. Rev. W. F. McMillen, Chicago, Ill. Rev. S. J. McPherson, Lawrenceville, N. J. Rev. Philip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass. Rev. W. R. Notman, Chicago, Ill. Rev. A. K. Parker, Chicago, Ill. Rev. Cornelius H. Patton, St. Louis, Mo. Professor G. W. Pease, Hartford, Conn. Rev. Madison C. Peters, Baltimore, Md. Rev. Frank Peterson, Minneapolis, Minn. Rev. James Rain, Cortland, N. Y. Rev. W. S. Rainsford, New York city. Rev. William C. Roberts, Danville, Ky. Rev. Henry M. Sanders, New York city. Mr. W. J. Semelroth, St. Louis, Mo.

Professor Henry G. Smith, Cincinnati, O. Rev. T. G. Soares, Oak Park, Ill. Rev. C. B. Spencer, Kansas City, Mo. Mr. John B. Stetson, Ashbourne, Pa. Rev. G. W. Stone, San Francisco, Calif. Mr. C. G. Trumbull, Philadelphia, Pa. Rev. B. B. Tyler, Denver, Col. Bishop John H. Vincent, Zurich, Switzerland. Professor M. R. Vincent, New York city. President George M. Ward, Winter Park,

Rev. J. W. Weddell, Davenport, Ia. Rev. Amos R. Wells, Boston, Mass. Rev. Leighton Williams, New York city. Rev. C. A. Young, Chicago, Ill.

The Institute will issue, on October 1, a new course of Outline Study for those who have completed its four-year series, in accordance with its plan to issue a new course each year. The subject of the first of these additional courses was the work of *The Old Testament Priests*, an outline of which was given a year ago. The second one, to be issued next month, will be *The Social and Ethical Teachings of Jesus*.

Following is the outline of the second course:

OUTLINE OF A COURSE ON THE SOCIAL AND ETHICAL TEACHINGS OF JESUS.

I. Subjects for each month (nine) of the course.—(1) Introductory: The Sources and Form of the Teachings of Jesus. (2) God as King and Father. (3) The Highest Good (the Kingdom of God). (4) Sin and Punishment. (5) Repentance and Faith. (6) Brotherhood through Sonship. (7) Family. (8) Wealth and the State. (9) Constructive Summary.

II. General method in each month's work.—(1) Distinguishing the form and the content: (a) literary form; (b) essential teaching; (c) the modern equivalent. (2) The historical situation in society, so far as each topic is concerned: (a) the social institution, or status in general; (b) the immediate occasion. (3) The recognition of Jesus' use of (a) Old Testament teaching; (b) human experience in general; (c) his own experience.

III. Method in detail.—(1) Presentation of material in connection with each passage: (a) material (form, situation, and occasion); (b) Old Testament parallels to the same; (c) where possible, notions of the Pharisees on the same subject; (d) the comparison and study of

(a), (b), and (c). (2) Division of work: (a) twenty days for the study of material; (b) the twenty-first day for the formation of results; (c) the twenty-second to twenty-ninth days a study of Jesus' own life as an illustration of his teaching on the subject; (d) the thirtieth day, a suggestion of the teaching conformed to the needs of today.

Although these courses are primarily intended for those who have completed the four-year outline series, they are open to any who are prepared to take them. They are not difficult, but presuppose some previous systematic study of the Bible.

An important document now ready is the first issue of the Quarterly Calendar of the Council and of the Institute. It will set forth in compact but full form all the work of the Council and the Institute, under the following divisions:

HISTORICAL STATEMENT.

THE COUNCIL OF SEVENTY:

Constitution.

Declaration of Principles.

Officers.

Names of Members.

Associate Members. Special Committees.

Annual Meetings. Fellows of the Council.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SA-

CRED LITERATURE:

Management and Location.

Members of the Senate.

Officers of the Institute.

Elementary Courses.

Professional Reading Courses.

Linguistic Correspondence Courses
(Hebrew and New Testament

Greek).

English Correspondence Courses

(the English Bible). Special Examinations.

Lectures, Institutes, and Summer

Schools.

Bible Study Sunday. Financial Support.

Statistics.

Affiliation of other Institutions.

Publication Work.

The Calendar will be issued quarterly, and mailed to all members and associate members of the Council; also to all club leaders and co-operating ministers. To any others it will be sent upon application. This is the first time that the work of both Council and Institute has been represented in its entirety, and it will be most informing to anyone interested in the broad work which is being done.

Still another addition to the literature of the Institute is a twelvepage pamphlet on *How to Organize and Conduct Bible Clubs*. This also will be sent to co-operating ministers, and to any others, upon application.

## Work and Workers.

THE second volume of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* has just been published by the Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. A special introduction price of \$6 a volume is announced. The entire work is to consist of twelve volumes, and the publishers hope to complete the publication by the year 1906.

THE American Bible Society in its annual report states that the total issues of the year, at home and abroad, amount to 1,723,791, an amount which exceeds the output of last year by 169,663 copies. The society has issued Bibles, or parts of Bibles, to the number of 70,677,225 during the eighty-six years of its career. Every effort is being made at the present time to supply the needs of the Philippine Islands for copies of the Bible in the different dialects of these people. Already translations have been made into the language of several of the Philippine group, and the printing of these editions is mostly performed in Japan.

ALL biblical and theological students will recognize their indebtedness to the publication by Professor W. Muss-Arnolt of his *Theological and Semitic Literature for the Year 1901* (University of Chicago Press). In this book of 112 pages is contained a list of all books and articles in the field of biblical and theological research which appeared during the last year. These books and articles are carefully classified, and full information as to their title, length, publishers, and prices is given. We have here the most complete exhibition of this class of literature which is anywhere to be had, and it is a matter for congratulation that America furnishes such an index. The series is in its second volume, having begun a year ago with the literature for the year 1900.

An interesting addition will be made, beginning with 1903, to the Sunday-school lesson helps for the study of the International Lessons. The publishers are Messrs. A. L. Swift & Co., Chicago, and the lessons are prepared under the direction of Rev. J. L. Leeper, D.D., who furnishes excellent illustrations to accompany them. The photograph which accompanies each lesson is the particular feature of this series, and the extended description of it in its historical relations is given in the printed material. But the general treatment of the Scripture

matter is also printed, and with it a translation of the text of the lesson is given in one of the various modern English versions. The use of pictures to attract the attention of pupils and to fix the teaching in their minds has become common now, and perhaps no way of using pictures is more convenient than that which is here provided.

THE demand for copies of the Bible in China is great, and the American Bible Society finds that it is furnishing a larger number than ever before to this part of the world; also, that copies of the entire Bible are sought, when previously only portions of the Bible were in demand. This society received recently an application from one of the Chinese professors in a government college for a grant of fifty English Bibles for the use of his students. There is also in China a remarkable movement on the part of some of the highest officials in the country to make a retranslation or revision of the entire Bible, with a view to putting it into what they consider a more worthy literary form. This work is now in progress under the imperial sanction, and is being performed by two of the first scholars of the empire. This has been undertaken, not because these officials regard the Bible as a sacred book, but because they hope, by putting it into a more acceptable literary dress, to acquaint the official class with its contents, and thereby remove their prejudice against the Bible and against Christians. They purpose to publish and circulate this edition among the official and literary class.

PROFESSOR EBERHARD NESTLE, Ph.D., of the theological proseminary at Maulbronn, Germany, has placed the many friends of the late Paul de Lagarde under great obligations by reprinting, with additional notes (Hinrichs, Leipzig, pp. 13), his article contributed to the Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 3d ed. (Vol. XI, 1902). The article itself covers some seven pages, giving a complete bibliography of Lagarde's ninety-one publications, all of which are more or less concerned with the Old and New Testaments; a list of books and articles on Lagarde; a biographical sketch of the great Göttingen Semitist (born 1827; died December 22, 1891), and a summary of opinions by friends and foes concerning the man and his work. As a Semitist and philologist Lagarde had few, if any, equals, and Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, the well-known Greek scholar, could justly say in his oration at the funeral of Lagarde that there were but few scholars who could spell all the alphabets of the languages with which Lagarde was thoroughly familiar and whose

literature he had partly published. As a theologian; for such Lagarde always contended that he was, some considered him "the most god-fearing man who ever trod this globe," while his bitter enemies styled him the latest type of the "sin against the Holy Ghost." Happily, the former view is gaining the ascendency from year to year; and the time will perhaps come when even Lagarde's most bitter ecclesiastical adversaries will recognize the greatness of the man's character, the purity of his motives, and the unselfishness of his life and work.

### THE NEW THEOLOGICAL JOURNAL IN ENGLAND.

An announcement of more than usual interest to students of religion, theology, and philosophy is the promise that with October of this year the Hibbert Journal will begin its publication. It is to be a quarterly review, covering the three subjects named, and is to be issued under the sanction and with the support of the trustees of the Hibbert Fund. It will be remembered that the Hibbert Lectures, which for a long period furnished an annual contribution of great importance to biblical knowledge, have for some years been discontinued. The funds of that lectureship are now to be turned to account in the issue of this new theological journal. The editor is Mr. L. P. Jacks, M.A., and the sub-editor is Mr. G. Dawes Hicks, M.A., Ph.D. The editorial board is composed as follows: Very Rev. C. W. Stubbs, D.D., dean of Ely; Very Rev. G. W. Kitchin, D.D., dean of Durham; Rev. Canon T. K. Cheyne, Litt.D., D.D., Oxford; Rev. John Watson, D.D., Liverpool; J. Sutherland Black, LL.D.; Rev. James Drummond, LL.D., principal of Manchester College, Oxford; Professor Percy Gardner, Litt.D., Oxford; Sir Edward Russell, Liverpool; C. G. Montefiore, Esq.; Oliver Lodge, D.Sc., principal of the University of Birmingham; Rev. James Moffatt, D.D., Dundonald, N. B.; Professor J. H. Muirhead, M.A., Birmingham.

Each number of the periodical will contain five or six articles (about 184 pages), in the field to which the magazine is devoted, and some discussion of current books and literature will be furnished. The publishers of the *Hibbert Journal* are Messrs. Williams & Norgate, of London, and the annual subscription price for Great Britain will be ten shillings. It is probable that an American publisher will be chosen, but no announcement has yet been made. The plans which the editors have for the subject-matter of their publication, and the point of view which it is to represent, can best be indicated in their own words:

Under the head of "Religion," the Journal will treat of the religious experiences of mankind of whatsoever variety. All religious ideals, beliefs,

states of feeling, conceptions of God, the universe, and the soul, together with the bearings of these on public worship, social duty, and personal piety, will be offered an impartial representation.

Under the head of "Theology," the Journal will consider all the forms in which religious life and thought have found expression—whether in books, documents, systems, creeds, institutions, rites, church ordinances, poetry, music, or the plastic arts. Of equal weight, as bearing on the aims of the Journal, are the criticisms evoked by these various forms—whether of the Scriptures, the creeds, the churches, the forms, ceremonies, symbols, and language of any recognized form of religion. Due weight will be given to the historical treatment of these topics, and an endeavor will be made to represent the importance which the study of development has assumed in the ascertainment of religious truth.

Under the head of "Philosophy," the *Journal* will review the whole field of human speculation, so far as its results, or the criticism of those results, have a bearing, either direct or indirect, on the interests associated with the word "religion." In this connection, and with this limitation, science, both physical and mental, will be considered a proper subject-matter for the *Journal*.

The editors do not desire the *Journal* to represent a neutral attitude in regard to the above subjects. It will stand for the inner unity of all reverent minds. Its sympathies will be catholic, but they will be mainly directed toward an affirmative view of the central verities of religion. It will avowedly have a "liberal" character, not in the sense of confining its sympathies and offering its opportunities to novel opinions, but in the larger sense of admitting articles representing every seriously held point of view in the religious world, whether in the orthodox forms of historical Christian churches, or among those who dissent from them, or among the thoughful adherents of non-Christian religions in any part of the world.

In pursuing the aims of the *Journal* the distinction will be remembered between a genuine catholicity and the mere spirit of compromise. The *Journal* will not represent the latter, but will seek rather to publish opinions which are earnestly held, clearly defined, and cogently maintained.

The editors will seek the co-operation of able, learned, and experienced men in all parts of the world, irrespective of the party, church, or views which they may be known to represent. They will publish articles on the ground of their seriousness and ability, the aim being to secure the highest standard in regard to these, the only, qualifications. By these means they trust the *Hibbert Journal* will become a medium of expression to earnest men in various schools, thereby appealing to the widest circle of thoughtful readers. They desire, also, while giving due weight to the technical aspects of scholarship and speculation, not to limit the value of the *Journal* to professional scholars and students.

## Book Reviews.

Die urchristlichen Gemeinden: Sittengeschichtliche Bilder. Von Ernst von Dobschutz. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902. Pp. xiv+293. M.6.

This is distinctively a study in the history of morals. General questions of church history are wholly subordinated to the question how the early church developed a Christian morality, taking the place here of the ancient Jewish, there of the heathen, and the degree of its success in giving reality to this moral ideal. The work thus fills out the history of Christian ethics for that period of the beginnings not adequately covered by Lecky, and bridges the interval between his History of European Morals and Friedländer's Sittengeschichte Roms.

The author has had as predecessors in the field of the history of Christian morals Thoma, Gass, Bestmann, Ziegler, and Luthardt; but, as he himself points out, the special moral conditions of the apostolic age, investigation of which was specially urged by Ritschl, have scarcely been scrutinized by the great critics and historians of the period. Aside from the glances of Lechler and Weizsäcker, only the address of Kähler at the mission conference of Saxony, held at Halle, 1894, on "The Just Appreciation of the Apostolic Churches from the New Testament," seems to our author to attempt, in a more superficial way, the task which he has set himself to accomplish by methodical and exhaustive treatment.

Needless to say that von Dobschütz brings to this task the full equipment of exact and comprehensive scholarship. Beginning with the description of the morality of Christians in the Apology of Aristides, he contrasts with this favorable representation, by a defender of the persecuted church, the contemporary complaints of Hermas, a zealot for moral reform. This serves to formulate his problem. What was theory, and what was actual practice, in the church of 125-50 A. D.? What effect had the ethics of Jesus then produced?

The questions set are answered by a study in succession (1) of the Pauline churches in Corinth, Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Rome; (2) of the Jewish Christian churches and Judaizing propaganda; (3) of the later gentile Christianity. Under the last division are included the

churches under continued Pauline influence in Asia Minor, Rome, and Corinth, the Johannine circle, the beginnings of Gnosticism, and the churches of the period of transition to catholic unity. Six excursuses are added in the form of appendixes. These deal with "Ancient Statistics," "Slavery in Antiquity," "The Ecclesiastical Trial in Corinth," "James the Lord's Brother," "Ancient Vegetarianism," and "The Terminology of Ethics."

At the end of his review of Christian morality in the first century of its operation in the various churches, our author draws the conclusion that the laudatory description of Aristides is justified. The morality of heathenism was bankrupt. Christianity not only brought in a new ideal, but critical scrutiny of the sources proves that it supplied the moral dynamic to give it practical realization. The morality of Judaism required no such transformation, but it too was infused with new life.

On the other hand, the commonly assumed moral relapse of the post-apostolic age is simply a mistake. Enthusiasm, spirituality, the inspiration and fire of religious genius, disappear; but the work of realizing the moral ideal is continued. Only toward the close of the second century does the ascetic ideal of the East begin to tinge Christian morality with its physical rather than moral dualism. Against it Christianity reacts, not only in the outward conflict against Gnosticism, but inwardly by a progressive repudiation of the alien conception. Its ultimate triumph over the Roman empire was not by virtue of a better philosophical or moral system, but as "organized beneficence," driven forward by the moral impulse of its great Founder. The second-century apologists make a true and unanswerable appeal to fact in pointing to the lives of common laborers and old women, controlled by the law of love, as the proof that their faith is "the victory that hath overcome the world."

A study of the facts by a scholar and critic so unbiased and competent as von Dobschütz cannot fail to meet a welcome at the hands of all students of the history of ethics. Not only so, but, if Christianity is to be judged by its fruits, the facts reviewed are certainly of too much importance to be neglected, whether by apologist or critic. The author's purpose is well carried out.

BENJ. W. BACON.

YALE UNIVERSITY, New Haven, Conn. Babylonia and Assyria. A Sketch of Their History. By Ross G. Murison, M.A., B.D. [Bible Class Primers.] New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 115. \$0.20.

The time when the life and thought of the Hebrews were looked upon as in large measure unrelated to the movements of their contemporaries has long since passed away. All schools of interpretation agree that only as Hebrew history is studied as an integral part of the history of the larger Semitic world can it be properly understood. Especially is some acquaintance with the main facts of Assyrian and Babylonian history essential to an intelligent appreciation of much of the Old Testament literature, particularly the writings of the prophets. Most of the histories of Babylonia and Assyria are beyond the reach of the great majority of Bible students. The above sketch has been prepared to meet the needs of this class, for whom such works as those of McCurdy and Rogers are too voluminous, learned, and expensive. The task of preparing popular treatments of this kind is an exceedingly difficult one, but the author has been successful in his selection of material, passing over the multitude of details, for the most part, and emphasizing the important facts and movements. The political history is sketched rapidly in the first seventy-three pages, and the remainder of the book is given to the life and thought, under the following topics: (1) "Genesis According to the Monuments;" (2) "Religion;" (3) "Writing and Literature;" (4) "Civilization."

The author is at times too dogmatic in his statements; as, e. g., when he declares that there is no serious dispute concerning the date of Sargon I. (p. 11); when he unhesitatingly identifies "Ur of the Chaldees" with Mugheir, and makes Abram a Babylonian name (p. 15); when he adopts the identification of the names of the kings in Gen., chap. 14, defended by Sayce and others (p. 16); when he accepts without question the identification of Azriyahu of Yaudi, who fought against Tiglath-pileser III., with Azariah of Judah (p. 30); and when he derives Rab-saris from Rab-sha-rishē (p. 41). Discussion of disputed matters is, of course, impossible in a work of this kind, but it would still seem well to indicate the existence of contrary views in extremely doubtful cases, rather than to leave the impression that the view adopted is the only one. In the paragraph on the indebtedness of modern civilization to Babylonia (p. 8), mention should have been made of the large contribution handed down by Egypt. But one must not expect everything within the compass of

115 small pages, and as an elementary handbook this sketch is to be highly commended for its clear, concise presentation of the things that the ordinary Bible student most needs to know concerning the Babylonians and Assyrians.

JOHN M. P. SMITH.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

- The Pastoral Epistles. By Rev. J. P. LILLEY, M.A. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. 225. \$0.75, net.
- The Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus. By R. MARTIN POPE, M.A. London: Charles H. Kelley, 1901. Pp. 248. 2s. 6d.

The former of these two volumes is one of the series of fifty "Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students," edited by Professor Marcus Dods, D.D., and Rev. Alexander Whyte, D.D. For the class of readers the editors have in mind the work is satisfactory. Mr. Lilley holds that the author of the epistles in their present form was Paul, thus taking his position with Alford, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Howson, Salmond, Westcott, Hort, Farrar, and Findlay, as against Reuss, Renan, Sabatier, Hatch, and S. Davidson, who argued for a later origin; and also Harnack, von Soden, McGiffert, G. B. Stevens, and B. W. Bacon, who admit that the epistles contain some genuine fragments of the apostle's writings. The historical difficulty of finding a place in the chronology of Paul's life for the epistles is met by the usual theory of a second imprisonment and a fourth missionary journey.

The argument against the authenticity of the epistles which is drawn from the form of church organization pictured in them is of no value, thinks Lilley, inasmuch as "everything we learn in Timothy and Titus as to the duties of presbyters agrees with Acts and the Pauline epistles;" and practically the same can be said of the other church officers. As to the bearing of the heresies which the writer combats, he regards the whole movement referred to, not as Gnosticism, but as "the last desperate effort of Judaistic traditionalism to overthrow the religion of Christ." The apparent difference in theological teaching between these and Paul's other writings is accounted for by the fact that he wrote to disciples fully acquainted with his doctrinal system, and that a growing importance attaching to the ethical side might be expected both from Paul's time of life and the

character of the age. The variations in literary style from the other Pauline epistles are due to the subject-matter; yet in passages like t Tim. 1:8-11; 6:13-16, and many others, the wonderful mastery of speech of the apostle can be recognized.

The new translation is worthy of special commendation. It is based upon Gebhardt's edition of Tischendorf's ultimate Greek text (Leipzig, 1901), and is a good illustration of how far the Revised Version can be surpassed. Nothing of the dignity or smoothness of style has been sacrificed, and a clearness of meaning for the average reader in many half-obscure passages is the result. The appendix contains seven scholarly studies on topics closely related to the subject of the book. The handbook is unpretentious, thorough, and useful.

The work of Pope is for students of the Greek Testament, lay preachers, and Christian workers. The aim is to give a concise and not too elaborate exposition of the minute distinctions of rendering of which the text is often capable. This purpose of the writer naturally calls for the usual exegetical method, thus differing from Lilley, who has cast his commentary into the form of a consecutive running discourse, going less into detailed exposition, more into the paraphrase method of interpretation. Pope's general position as to the authenticity of the epistles is the same as that of Lilley, though the discussion is briefer. His book is one of Rev. Arthur E. Gregory's series of "Books for Bible Students," twenty-six of which have already appeared.

ORLO J. PRICE.

FREEPORT, ILL.

Origen and Greek Patristic Theology. By Rev. W. Fairweather. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. xii + 268. \$1.25.

This is one of the series of "The World's Epoch-Makers," edited by Oliphant Smeaton. It is pleasant to read, and is scholarly in character. After an introductory chapter on "The Precursors of Origen," notably Pantænus and Clement of Alexandria, the bulk of the book is devoted to "The Life and Character of Origen" (chap. 2); "His View of Holy Scripture" (chap. 3); "Religious Philosophy of Origen" (chap. 4); "The Writings of Origen" (chap. 5); "Origen's Theology" (chaps. 6, 7, 8). The last four chapters take up "Successors of Origen;" "Historical Services, General Characteristics, and Distinctive Doctrinal Complexion of the Greek Theology;" "Reac-

tion against Origenism;" and "Subsequent History of Origenism." We are surprised to find that Fairweather does not take the slightest notice of the famous edition of Origen's work by the Berlin Church Fathers Commission, a reference to which one would naturally expect to find either in the preface or in the chapter on "The Writings of Origen." This lack of acquaintance with the latest German and foreign literature on Origen and his writings constitutes one of the few blemishes of the work. The book, to be sure, adds nothing to the knowledge already accessible, but will do a service in reaching a new class of readers who are not familiar with patristic literature. It will point out also that for a long time Origen was the dominating force in the theological world; that all subsequent theology has been largely shaped by him; and that, even when every deduction has been made for his errors, he must still, as regards spirit and method, take rank as the ideal Christian theologian of the patristic period.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Quiet Talks with Earnest People in My Study. By CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, Pastor of Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1898. Pp. xvi + 180. \$1. Quiet Hints to Growing Preachers. Same Author and Publisher, 1901. Pp. viii + 214. \$1. Doctrine and Deed. Expounded and Illustrated in Seventeen Sermons. Same Author and Publisher, 1901. Pp. viii + 376. \$1.50.

These volumes set a high ideal before the pastor and sermonizer. The first volume might well be put into the hands of every official layman; no book would be likely to be of more practical helpfulness in the pastoral relationship. The second of these little volumes will be of service to the young and growing preacher, who could find no greater inspiration for his ministry than these *Quiet Hints* will furnish him. In the third and larger volume of sermons, the ideas and ideals of the *Talks* and *Hints* are put into practical form. We see how the author himself in his preaching realizes them.

The outstanding characteristic of these volumes is the utter simplicity of their style. They are models of unpretentious impressiveness. Most writers would attempt more and do worse. One is apt to think that it is all so simple and clear that anyone could write like that, until one makes the trial for one's self. These books are packed

with common-sense and Anglo-Saxon. One can but think that the author is consciously and persistently endeavoring to reproduce in his style the simplicity and strength of John Bunyan and the English Bible. We know no modern books that more nearly approach this ideal. As we read them we are reminded of the Master himself, talking in terms that can be understood of all the people.

They are religious books, too. Their message is the New Testament message. Their spirit is that of the gospels. They present most effectively the ideals, duties, dangers, and rights of the ministry and of the church membership. The Quiet Talks discuss the preacher as "The Unknown Man;" "The Maligned Man;" "The Misunderstood Man;". "The Minister in His Relation to Money, Vacations, Liberty, etc.;" "Securing, Dismissing, Criticising, Appreciating, Inspirring the Minister;" "The Minister's Wife;" "The Mission of Laymen;" and other equally interesting themes. Almost every page has quotable sentences, gems of expression and thought. The Quiet Hints consider almost all the evils with which the preacher must contend: "Cowardice," "Impatience," "Despondency," "Selfishness," "Dishonesty," "Autocracy," "Vanity," "Discontent," "Pettiness," "Foolishness," "Meanness," "Mannerism," and others. The sermons in Doctrine and Deed are upon great themes, such as "God Manifest in Flesh;" "The Reconciliation;" "The Holy Spirit;" "Graded Penalties;" "The Cross;" "Christianity and Wealth;" "Christianity and War." It seems to the reviewer that the argument justifying war in the sermon last mentioned is half-hearted and inconclusive, and marks the one weak spot in this book. The Christian prophet reappears and reasserts himself in the sermon, "Temptation from the Mountain Top," in which he says: "Militarism is the greatest of all existing curses, and the most needless and most intolerable of all historic scourges" (p. 346).

As furnishing ideals and models for sermons and ministry, we know of no recent books that will exceed these volumes in value.

D. A. HAYES.

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## Current Literature.

[Books marked with an asterisk (\*) will be reviewed in subsequent issues.]

#### OLD TESTAMENT.

#### BOOKS.

- KAUTZSCH, E. Die Poesie und die poetischen Bücher des Alten Testaments. Tübingen: Mohr, 1902. Pp. 109. M. 2.
- GRIMME, H. Psalmenprobleme. Untersuchungen über Metrik, Strophik und Paseq des Psalmenbuches. N.F., III. Freiburg: Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1902. Pp. 205. M. 7.20.

#### ARTICLES.

- Couard, Ludwig. Die Vorgeschichte Israels und die neuere wissenschaftliche Forschung (Schluss). Beweis des Glaubens, Heft 6, 1902, pp. 215-26.
- McPheeters, W. M. What Shall We Make of the Book Called Genesis? Bible Student, July, 1902, pp. 1-8.
- WRIGHT, G. F. Geological Confirmation of the Noachian Deluge, II., Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1902, pp. 537-56.
- Driver, S. R. Jacob's Route from Haran to Shechem. Expository Times, July, 1902, pp. 457-60.
- Ludlow, J. M. Moses—An Up-to-Date Statesman. Homiletic Review July, 1902, pp. 3-9.
- MOORE, W. W. The Ruling Ideas of Exodus. *Bible Student*, July, 1902, pp. 10-16.
- Johns, C. H. W. The Chronology of Asurbanipal's Reign, I. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaelogy, Vol. XXIV, Part 6, pp. 235-41.
- BURKITT, F. C. The So-called Quinta of 4 Kings. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXIV, Part 6, pp. 216-19.
- MÄCKLENBURG, P. Über die Auffassung des Reiches Gottes, resp. über den Begriff des göttlichen Königtums in den Psalmen. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 525-55.
- KAUFMANN, M. Psalms of the East and West. Expositor, June, July, 1902, pp. 446-58, 57-69.
- HAUPT, PAUL. The Book of Canticles. American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, July, 1902, pp. 193-245.

In this article Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, presents an important study of the Song of Songs, consisting of a new metrical translation and a rearrangement of the material, with elaborate notes on the interpretation. The book, in his judgment, is neither allegorical, nor typical, nor dramatic, but simply a collection of popular love-ditties, or erotic songs, composed by various authors, and gathered

together in a mixed order by a late compiler. The main task of the biblical critic is not to restore the sequence of the various poems in the original collection, but to restore the original text of the individual poems; the traditional arrangement may be very much improved, however, and the traditional text may be freed from a great many subsequent additions and superfluous repetitions which have crept into it.

- HAUPT, PAUL. Difficult Passages in the Song of Songs. Journal of Biblical Literature, Part I, 1902, pp. 51-73. IDEM, The Phrase הכבים צמרים in 2 Kings 9:25. Ibid., pp. 74-7.
- GAST, F. A. The Making of a Prophet. Reformed Church Review, July, 1902, pp. 289-309.

It was given to Jeremiah to see that the old must perish in order to make room for something new and better. His eye was the first to pierce through the external forms and accidents of religion to its essential and universal nature. Religion came to mean for him, not an affair of the nation—a collective worship by a scrupulous observance of rites, whether prescribed by law or only by tradition. It meant an affair of the individual—a matter of the heart, resting on a basis of spiritual faith and life. The knowledge of God, acquired not from the prophet's word, but by personal communion with God—this, with purity of heart and inward obedience, is the sole foundation of the religion of the future, which, by its very nature, must break through all national limitations and become the religion of mankind. It is easy to see how Jeremiah was divinely qualified, by the original cast of his mind, by his training in the parental home, by the pensive piety of his youth, and by the experiences of his later life, to deliver this message from God to the world.

- CONDAMIN, A. Interpolations ou transpositions accidentelles? (Michée 2:12, 13; Osée 2:1-3, 8, 9; Isaie 5:24, 25; 19:21, 22.) Revue biblique, July, 1902, pp. 379-97.
- LAYMAN, G. M. The Servant of Jehovah as an Ideal Man. Bible Student, July, 1902, pp. 16-23.
- Bewer, J. A. Historical Criticism of Jer. 1:4-19. American Journal of Theology, July, 1902, pp. 510-18. IDEM, Text-Critical Suggestions on Hosea 12:1; 4:4, 8; Isaiah 14:12b; Psalm 11:1. Journal of Biblical Literature, Part I, 1902, pp. 108-14.
- VÖLTER, D. Der Menschensohn in Dan. 7:13. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 173, 174.
- HOONACKER, A. VAN. The Four Empires of the Book of Daniel. Expository Times, June, 1902, pp. 420-23.

The four "empires" are the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius; and in the part devoted to the visions, the reign of Alexander and his successors.

- KÖNIG, ED. The "Weeks" of Daniel. Expository Times, July, 1902, pp. 468-70.
- HOONACKER, A. VAN. Les chapitres IX-XIV du livre de Zacharie (suite). Revue biblique, July, 1902, pp. 347-78.
- OSGOOD, HOWARD. Resurrection 3000-4000 B. C. and the Old Testament. Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1902, pp. 409-33.

- KÖNIG, ED. Zum Sprachbeweis der alttestamentlichen Kritik. Theologische Studien und Kritiken, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 644-51.
- SAYCE, A. H. Recent Biblical Archæology. Expository Times, July, 1902, pp. 465-7.
- FOOTE, T. C. The Ephod. Journal of Biblical Literature, Part I, 1902, pp. 1-47.

The ephod was used in divination by lot, and was in fact the receptacle ( $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omega\tau\rho ls$ ) into which the lots were put and from which they were drawn. It appears to have been a pouch, large enough to put the hands into, which was hung at the waist of the person using it. It was easily carried in the hand. Its early use was not confined to any special order of priests; but, like other things originally common to all, it gradually became a priestly function. The ephod was quickly consulted, though there was doubtless a technical method which was always observed. The lots were probably teraphim (small idols) in the earlier times, but Urim and Thummim (small stones or amulets) seem to be supplanting them as early as the time of Saul, though they continued to be associated with the ephod as late as Hosea, 740 B. C.

### NEW TESTAMENT.

#### BOOKS.

- \*Chase, F. H. The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles. [Hulsean Lectures, 1900-1.] New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 314. \$1.75.
- GREGORY, C. R. Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes. Zweiter Band: Die Übersetzungen, die Schriftsteller, Geschichte der Kritik. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 514. M. 12.

This second volume of Dr. Gregory's work is to be followed by a third and concluding volume. The two volumes already issued are an exhaustive and authoritative presentation of the material of New Testament textual criticism. It is understood that the third volume will deal with the problems which arise in an attempt to reconstruct the autographic text of the New Testament books.

- MARTIN, G. C. Commentary on Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians. [Century Bible.] Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1902. Pp. 200. 2s.
- KRAUSS, S. Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen. Berlin: Calvary, 1902. Pp. 309. M. 8.

#### ARTICLES.

- HOBEN, T. A. The Virgin Birth. American Journal of Theology, July, 1902, pp. 473-506.
- JANNARIS, A. N. The Locus Classicus for the Incarnation Overlooked. Expository Times, July, 1902, pp. 477-80.

The passage so designated is John I:6, where the words  $\ell\gamma\ell$  free of  $\nu\ell\rho$  connection with verses I-5 instead of with what follows. This makes the  $\ell\gamma\ell$  free of  $\ell\nu\ell$  connection with verses I-5 instead of with what follows. This makes the  $\ell\gamma\ell$  free of  $\ell\nu\ell$  connection of the Logos. At the same time Professor Jannaris denies that the words in John I:14,  $\kappa\alpha l$  d  $\lambda\delta\gamma$  os  $\sigma\lambda\rho\xi$   $\ell\gamma\ell$  free to the incarnation at all; so that what he has gained in I:6 he has lost in I:14, except that he thinks  $\ell\nu\ell$  connected where  $\ell\nu$  connected the  $\ell\nu$  connected that  $\ell\nu$  connected in  $\ell\nu$  connected that  $\ell\nu$  connected the  $\ell\nu$  connected the  $\ell\nu$  connected that  $\ell\nu$  connected the  $\ell\nu$  connected that  $\ell\nu$  connected the  $\ell\nu$  connected that  $\ell\nu$  connected the  $\ell\nu$  con

- KÖSTLIN, H. A. Das Magnificat Lc. 1:46-55 Lobgesang der Maria oder der Elisabeth? Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 142-5.
- Wood, I. F. Tη̂s δούληs in the Magnificat, Lk. 1:48. Journal of Biblical Literature, Part I, 1902, pp. 48-50.
- GARVIE, A. E. The Temptation of Jesus; His Early Self-Disclosure. Expositor, June, July, 1902, pp. 435-45, 37-46.
- BACON, B. W. Elias and the Men of Violence. Expositor, July, 1902, pp. 31-6.
- BEIBITZ, J. H. The End of the Age [Matt., chap. 24]. Expository Times, July, 1902, pp. 443-50.
- HARTMAN, J. E. The Emotional Estimate of Jesus. Reformed Church Review, July, 1902, pp. 377-83.
- Weinel, H. Leben Jesu [Review of Recent Literature]. Theologische Rundschau, June, July, 1902, pp. 231-45.
- ROSE, V. Études sur la théologie de saint Paul. I: Comment il a connu Jésus-Christ. Revue biblique, July, 1902, pp. 321-46.
- D'ARCY, C. F. St. Paul on Life and Immortality. Expositor, June, 1902, pp. 428-34.
- KERN, R. Die Auffassung des heiligen Abendmahls bei Paulus nach I Kor. 10:14 ff. und 11:23 ff. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 555-96.
- BARTLET, VERNON. Barnabas and His Genuine Epistle. Expositor, June, July, 1902, pp. 409-27, 28-30.

The view here argued is that the Barnabas of the Acts history was the author of the canonical epistle to the Hebrews, which was written about 61-62 A. D. to a group of churches on the Palestinian seaboard, of which Cæsarea may be taken as a type. The occasion of the epistle was the culmination of a number of influences which had been, for longer or shorter periods, depressing the Christian zeal and loyalty of certain Jewish believers in those regions.

- MACKIE, G. M. The Jewish Passover in the Christian Church. Expository Times, June, 1902, pp. 391-7.
- Andersen, Axel. Das Abendmahl in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten nach Chr., I. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 115-41.
- LAMBERT, J. C. A New Explanation of the Lord's Supper. Expository Times, June, 1902, pp. 398-401.
- The essential features are here given of the work by Schweitzer, Der Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit dem Leben Jesu und der Geschichte des Urchristentums (1901).
- WAUGH, A. J. Emphasis in the Greek New Testament. Bible Student, July, 1902, pp. 23-30.

- CLEVER, C. The Church and the Kingdom. Reformed Church Review, July, 1902, pp. 343-57.
- Warfield, B. B. Review of Kenyon's "Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament." *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, July, 1902, pp. 463-73.
- ROBINSON, H. W. Review of Alexander's "Demonic Possession in the New Testament." Critical Review, May, 1902, pp. 214-18.

The reviewer concludes: We do not think Dr. Alexander has proved his thesis, either as to the genuineness of demonic possession or as to the criterion of its presence; but he has written a very interesting and useful book which students of the New Testament cannot afford to neglect.

- CLEMEN, C. Review of Schürer's "Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi," dritte Auflage. Theologische Studien und Kritiken, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 666-85.
- BARTON, G. A. On the Jewish-Christian Doctrine of the Pre-Existence of the Messiah. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Part I, 1902, pp. 78-91.

The synoptic gospels do not contain any teaching concerning the pre-existence of Christ; but in the fourth gospel this idea appears, not only in the prologue, but in the discourses of Jesus. Paul also held a doctrine of the pre-existence of the Messiah kindred to the doctrine of the Logos in the fourth gospel. A similar view is found in the epistle to the Hebrews, and in the Apocalypse. The pre-Christian Jews held two views of the Messiah: (1) that he was to be born on the earth and concealed for a time before his appearance; (2) that he had pre-existed from the beginning in heaven in anticipation of the time when he could come to earth to accomplish his work. The early Christians held that Jesus was the Messiah (i.  $\epsilon$ ., the Christ); and generally held, in accordance with the view of the book of Enoch, that he had pre-existed with God in heaven from the beginning. The way in which John, Paul, and other New Testament writers allude to the matter, or take it as a fixed point on which to base exhortations, makes it clear that the doctrine was so generally accepted by their readers that no argument concerning it was needed.

That this view meets with difficulties, if we endeavor to make it harmonize with the metaphysics of today, goes without saying; but I do not see how we can exegetically deny that it was held by these writers. That it is difficult to explain in detail their ideas of it must also be confessed. It is probable that in the thought of all, both Jews and Christians, there was the same confusion between the ideal and the real, between the spiritual and the corporeal, which characterizes so much of the neo-Platonic philosophy. As regards the exact nature of the pre-existence predicated of the Messiah, neither Jew nor Christian seems to have anticipated anything like Origen's doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son. Their thought was not yet sufficiently exact for that; they were content to think that the Logos or Messiah existed before the world began. In the New Testament his existence is pushed back to a period earlier than that of any other being except God. There is, therefore, to be noted a growth in definiteness in this respect as we pass from Jewish to Christian thought. Paul's view is more speculative than the view of the Similitudes of Enoch, and that of the fourth gospel more definite than Paul's.

### RELATED SUBJECTS.

#### BOOKS.

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- \*James, William. The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature. [Gifford Lectures, 1901-2.] New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Pp. 504. \$3.20, net.
- SAUNDERS, T. B. Professor Harnack and His Oxford Critics. London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Pp. 92. 1s. 6d.
- OMAN, J. Vision and Authority; or, The Throne of St. Peter. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. Pp. 354. 7s. 6d.
- KEEDY, E. E. The Naturalness of Christian Life. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902. Pp. 205. \$1.25, net.
- \*Muzzey, D. S. Spiritual Heroes: A Study of Some of the World's Prophets. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902. Pp. 305. \$1.25, net.

#### ARTICLES.

- WHITNEY, H. M. The Latest Translation of the Bible. II: Its Aims and Results. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1902, pp. 451-75.
- SALMOND, S. D. F. The Revised Bible American and English. *Critical Review*, May, 1902, pp. 195-204.
- GREGORY, D. S. Bible Teaching as a Function of the Preacher. Homiletic Review, July, 1902, pp. 85-90.

Dr. Gregory undertakes, in this and some other papers which are to follow, to summarize the principles involved in a minister's pulpit teaching of the Bible. Here is given an outline consideration of the psychological problem, i. e., the mental and spiritual nature of the man in the pew, and how the preacher can best reach him with the Bible truth. Man is primarily a conscious living energy, pushing on to the attainment of rational ends revealed by intellect and responded to in feeling. The fundamental human interest is life—its conservation, enlargement, uplifting, completion, and immortality. The minister's teaching must connect directly and vitally with the practical needs of the unfolding life of man. He must first lodge in the intellect of the man, and then grip to the soul of the man, the precise practical truths that are rationally adapted to secure the end he has in view.

- CAVEN, WM. What the Holy Spirit Does for Us in the Interpretation of Scripture. *Homiletic Review*, July, 1902, pp. 9-14.
- RANCK, H. H. The Pastor with His Bible in the Light of Recent Study. Reformed Church Review, July, 1902, pp. 366-76.

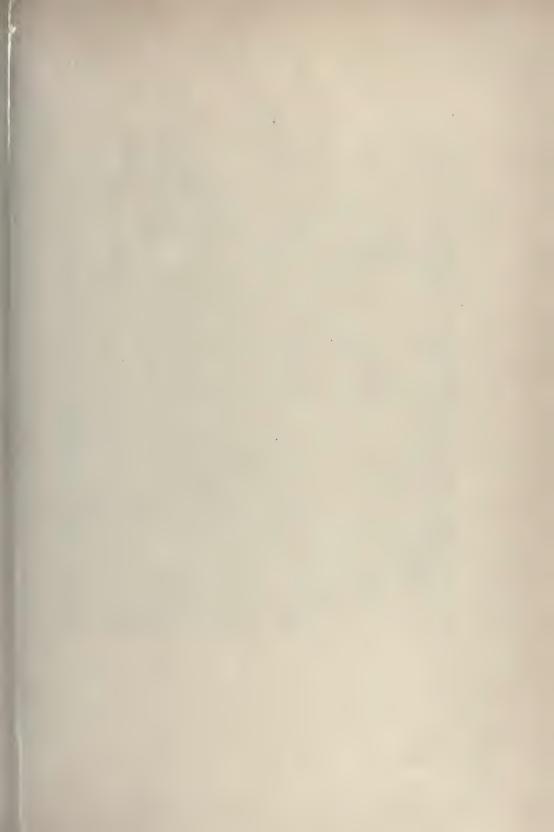
The new views of the Bible and the theological conceptions wrapped up therewith are in the air. One cannot isolate the Bible from the enlightenment of science which is flooding every field of inquiry. Our people get glimpses of these new ideas, receive false impressions of their relation to the vital things of religion, and will be

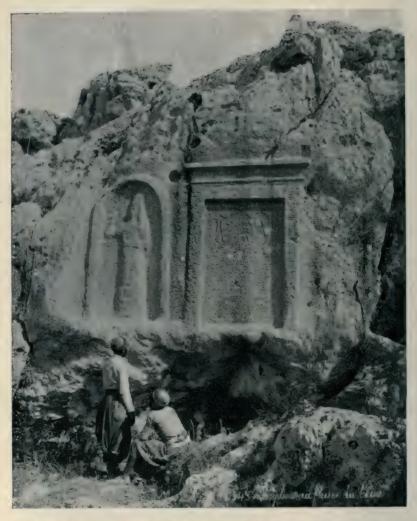
distressed if we do not fortify them by the more correct discussion. Should not the ministers, who are the leaders of the church, be the leaders of the people into the clearer light which God is permitting us to behold? The degree in which a particular pastor may teach these truths will depend upon his opportunities to study and understand them; and also on the temper and condition of his congregation for receiving them. He should be careful and conservative, keeping his feet on solid ground. He should go slowly. Yet, as a minister of God's truth, he is bound to have his face toward the ever-coming light, and to welcome all fresh truth with joy.

- MAYOR, J. B. A Puritan and a Broad Churchman in the Second Century [Clement of Rome]. *Expositor*, June, July, 1902, pp. 401-9, 13-27.
- Prince, J. D. Two Versions of the Coptic Psalter. Journal of Biblical Literature, Part I, 1902, pp. 92-9.
- HARNACK, A. Pseudopapianisches. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 159-66.
- GOODSPEED, E. J. The Haskell Gospels. Journal of Biblical Literature, Part I, 1902, pp. 100-107.
- DOBSCHÜTZ, E. von. Der Process Jesu nach den Acta Pilati. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Heft, 2, 1902, pp. 89-114.

No material found in the Acta Pilati can be used to increase our knowledge of the trial of Jesus as recorded in the canonical gospels. The document indeed belongs to the fourth century A. D., and has a value only for the understanding of fourth-century ideas on this subject.

- ST. CLAIR, GEO. Tartaros Not Hades. Expositor, July, 1902, pp. 70-72.
- PALMER, BYRON. God in His Own World. Methodist Review (New York), July-August, 1902, pp. 603-9.
- SARDESON, F. W. Reaction between Natural Science and Religion. Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1902, pp. 557-74.
- CAVEN, WM. Pre-Adumbrations of the Trinity. Bible Student, July, 1902, pp. 30-39.
- SCHMIDT, E. Die Möglichkeit einer Bekehrung nach dem Tode. Theologische Studien und Kritiken, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 597-643.
- GRIFFIN, E. H. The Epistemological Argument for Theism. Presbyterian and Reformed Review, July, 1902, pp. 341-63.
- Purves, David. Review of Orr's "The Progress of Dogma." Critical Review, May, 1902, pp. 223-31.
- Rupp, Wm. The Evolution Theory in Theology. Reformed Church Review, July, 1902, pp. 384-412.
- SHAW, C. G. What Then is Christianity? *Methodist Review* (New York). July-August, 1902, pp. 576-91.





STELÆ OF VICTORY ON THE ROCK WALLS OF THE DOG RIVER (NAHR EL-KELB), NEAR BEIRÛT.

The inscription on the left is that of the Assyrian conqueror Esarhaddon, 670 B. C.; the inscription on the right is that of Rameses II., which was made about six hundred years earlier than the former.

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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#### THE BIBLE AND THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

THE fact that the Bible is generally excluded from the public schools of the United States, where formerly it was used as a book of devotion and instruction, is not to be attributed **EXCLUSION OF** THE BIBLE FROM to a growing disregard for religion, or for the most THE SCHOOLS profoundly religious literature of the world—the Hebrew Scriptures. This situation has been created by the friends of the Bible rather than by its enemies; for if the friends of the Bible could have agreed among themselves as to how the Bible should be taught in the schools, their influence would have secured the continuance of such instruction. But it came to pass that the Bible was used in the schools, not only for general religious and ethical instruction, but also for the inculcation of sectarian and theological ideas. Protestant teachers taught the Bible in a way which antagonized the Roman Catholics; and teachers of the several Protestant denominations interpreted the Bible to the children from their own point of view. But the public money which is raised by general taxation for the support of the common schools comes from men of widely differing ecclesiastical creeds and connections, and cannot therefore be used for the dissemination of sectarian tenets. So by a gradual process the state laws have come to forbid biblical instruction, or even a devotional use of the Bible, in the common schools.

The losses which have resulted are serious indeed. Religion and morality are primary features in a true education. The development of right ideas of duty and of conduct—in other

words, character-making - is the supreme end of school instruction. This principle had been recognized, and the Bible had been used in the schools as the chief means of LOSSES WHICH teaching religion and morality. When Bible RESULT FROM THIS EXCLUSION instruction was no longer permitted, the primary instrument of character-building was laid aside. Instruction in religion was discontinued, and instruction in morals was reduced to a minimum. In this way two of the chief elements of education were severed from the general curriculum of education. The home and Sunday school could impart such instruction in a measure; but since only a limited number of children attend Sunday school, or live in homes where real religion and morality are found, it has resulted that the great majority of children have been growing up without essential religious and ethical education. They have lacked those elements of characterbuilding which alone can make them complete men and women. As they have received their education without the proper religious or moral constituents, they look upon religion and morality as incidental matters which do not directly concern them.

It is also a genuine loss, though by no means to be compared with that just described, that the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools has brought in a widespread ignorance concerning the facts of biblical history and the phraseology of the English versions. It is no doubt true that the young people of the present generation are less able to identify, or even to recognize, quotations from and allusions to the Bible in English literature. It is equally true that they do not themselves quote or allude to the Bible as was customary fifty years ago. The exclusion of the Bible from the public schools, while it is not the only cause—and probably not the primary cause—is, at least, one cause of the present mode.

It is from this latter point of view that some important utterances (see below, pp. 303-5) have recently been made calling for the restoration of the Bible to the schools as literature; that is, it is asked that the Bible be used, not for instruction in religion and morality, but as a means of literary culture. Now, it is certainly desirable that the

young people of America should be able to recognize biblical quotations and allusions in the masterpieces of English literature; and it is still more desirable that they should appreciate and imbibe the surpassing literary qualities of the biblical writings. Without these attainments their culture would no doubt be deficient.

Still, culture is not the chief end of man, nor the primary function of the Bible. The biblical books are indeed master-pieces of literature, even in an English translation; but they have a much more important service to render to the world. The Bible is first of all for religious and moral instruction; historically this was its origin, and practically this is its great mission. It is a monument of the far-distant past; but it is not simply a relic, for it has a real life in the present. Rightly interpreted, it is a guide-book to our own religion and morality, and is the best medium for instruction in these most important elements of our lives.

If, then, the Bible should be restored to the schools for the purpose of culture, to broaden the literary intelligence and sus-THE BIBLE A BOOK ceptibility of the children, it would be able to render a minor service which is needed; but AND MORALS would be forbidden to render that higher service to which it was destined. Happily, the study of the Bible as literature would of necessity involve an infiltration of its religious ideas and moral principles into the minds of the pupils, and so the primary purpose of the Bible would be in part accomplished by indirection. But is it not desirable that the Bible should pass for what it is -a book of religion and morals? If it is to be restored to the common schools, should it not be restored as a book of religion and morals? Only so can the essential defect in present education be removed. The children could do much better without the culture and literary intelligence than without the religious and moral instruction which they at present lack.

Then why not both? To be sure, let us have both literary culture and religio-ethical instruction through the Bible. But let us not become confused by supposing that we have the latter

when we have the former, or obscure the issue by talking about the one thing when we mean the other. And certainly our first and best endeavor should be that the Bible may perform its primary mission of morals and religion. Is this primary mission being adequately performed through the Sunday school and home? It has been so assumed, but each passing year shows more clearly that this is not the case. Further, there is a growing judgment of Christian people that adequate instruction in religion and morality cannot be given in the Sunday school and home alone. The home no longer feels the necessary responsibility, and the Sunday school has neither the time nor the instrumentalities for adequate instruction. And, in addition, the divorcement of religious from secular education destroys the vital relation between the two.

Therefore, it seems certain that the ideal of education, as well as the only adequate method of education, is to establish religious and moral instruction in the common SHOULD THE schools. This will call for the restoration of the BIBLE BE RESTORED TO Bible to the schools as the best medium of such THE SCHOOLS? instruction. And we shall then find ourselves once more in accord with the status of instruction in England and Germany. But can we now use the Bible for this purpose when not long ago it was found impracticable, and was discontinued? Can we now teach religion and morals by means of the Bible without at the same time teaching sectarian ideas? The Bible is not sectarian; Roman Catholics and all Protestant denominations equally claim it. The formal creeds and the systems of government and worship which have grown up in the centuries of Christian history are post-biblical; they are a superstructure, built upon the fundamentals of Christianity as recorded in the Bible. Can we get beneath ecclesiastical formulations, regulations, and liturgies to a fundamental religious belief and moral practice upon which all Christians can agree, and which they can unite to promote? Or must the Christian sects still strive with each other to the detriment of their cause? Must the Bible continue to be excluded from the common schools because differing theological interpretations, modes of church organization, and manner of religious worship still divide the hosts of the Lord, and the several camps are still jealous of one another?

We believe that sectarianism is fast disappearing, that an era of unity in essentials is near at hand. Then Christianity will receive a better recognition, and rapid growth will follow. We believe also that the Bible can now be taught much more correctly and effectively than a generation ago; that many of the former difficulties with using it as a handbook of religion and morals have been removed. But if the Bible were again to be taught in the schools as it was formerly taught, the same objections would arise. In order to restore the Bible to the schools it must be taught in the right way - the way which accords with the best modern knowledge of the Bible, the best modern science of religious and ethical teaching, and the best Christian spirit which recognizes true Christianity wherever it exists, and is able to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials. When we can secure for our public schools a corps of teachers trained to teach the Bible in this right way, there should be no delay in restoring the Bible to the schools.

### THE ANCIENT "CIRCUIT OF ARGOB."

By Professor George L. Robinson, Ph.D., McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

STARTING on May 28, 1900, from Damascus, in company with Rev. Archibald Forder, of Jerusalem, and one servant named Nussar, we struck out in the direction of the Hauran and Jebel ed-Druze, in order to visit the ancient "circuit of Argob," which the Scriptures inform us once belonged to Og, king of Bashan.

We had only scantily provided ourselves with the necessities of life for a trip of eight or ten days, as the case might be, for we determined that the best way in which to see these dangerous parts of the Turkish dominions was to throw ourselves upon the hospitality of the natives, display as little equipment as possible, and so avoid exciting their cupidity. Accordingly we procured a few loaves of native bread and a limited amount of tinned goods, but a full supply, on the other hand, of native costume and saddlebag trappings, to escape being detected and turned back by the Turkish soldiers who have been recently stationed at various garrisons in those parts.

Our itinerary was briefly as follows: Leaving Damascus, five and a half hours brought us to Deir 'Ali, where we put up at the house of the chief of the village, Sheikh Maḥmud. The next day took us through Brak, situated on the northern boundary of the lava beds of el-Lejah. We passed through this village in plain sight of the Turkish soldiers, who, however, failed to recognize us as foreigners, for we were now clad in abba, kufiyeh, and akal, like the Druses who inhabit those parts. We stopped in the middle of the day at a place called Suwâret el-Kebireh for refreshment and rest, inquired for the village medâfeh, or guest-room, and were shown to a certain house, in front of which we dismounted, and, after giving over our animals to the

sheikh's servants to be fed and watered, we ascended the crude stone steps to enter the court leading into the house. But here we ran into the lion's mouth. There before us, as we entered the large reception-room of the sheikh, was Judât Bey, of Damascus, the representative of the sultan, who was stationed at Ahireh, a town in the center of the lava region, and who, with



CASTLE AT SALKHAD, BUILT IN THE CRATER OF AN EXTINCT VOLCANO.

his escort of soldiers, had come over to settle some matter of dispute between certain citizens of the village. Immediately we were put through the Turkish catechism, being asked whence we came, and whither we were going; what was our purpose, and whether we were aware of the dangers before us. To all of which questions we answered with a meekness quite unlike anything to which we had before been accustomed. The result was that we were allowed to go on our way undisturbed, which was so much of a surprise to us that we hardly recovered from it during the entire trip. The second night was spent at Ummel-Ḥaretên; the third at Marduk, having visited Shakka and

Shohba en route; the fourth at Salkhad, stopping on the way at Suleim and Kanawât, besides obtaining glimpses of Sueda and Hebrân. That was a very fatiguing day's ride, being over hard roads through the stony portion of Jebel Hauran. At Salkhad we put up again at the medâfeh, or guest-room of the village sheikh, and spent much time the next day examining the



GENERAL VIEW OF EDREI, WHERE ISRAEL AND OG FOUGHT THEIR DECISIVE BATTLE.

Roman castle, which has been built in the crater of an extinct volcano. The view from it is extensive. The Turkish representative of Salkhad, whom my companion in travel knew personally and upon whom he looked as a friend, was unfortunately away from home, so that we did not see him. We had now reached the extreme point in our itinerary, and so set our faces toward Damascus.

Leaving Salkhad, we turned westward, following the ancient stone-paved highway, and visiting Bosra, which richly abounds in Roman ruins. The first night out from Salkhad was spent at Ghasm. The second day we continued our journey, following the same old Roman road, till we came to Der'ât, or Edrei, where it is supposed the Israelites fought their decisive battle with Og, king of Bashan. We examined with enthusiasm many points of interest, and toward evening proceeded on our way through the

rich harvest fields of Bashan to Muzerib, the terminus station of the Hauran railroad, which leads to Damascus. A most uncomfortable night was spent in the wretched hovel of the sheikh of that squalid little town of Muzerib. Our host seemed embarrassed by our presence, and when supper was served, which consisted merely of wheat boiled in the kernel, he apologized for having nothing else, not even bread, to set before us; and we decided that he was a very impecunious man, indeed, to be mayor of a village. The next day,



WATCHTOWER AT EDREI, CHARACTERISTIC OF THE LAND OF BASHAN.

leaving Muzerib and turning northward, we passed on our left Tell el-'Ash'ari, an oblong hillock about sixty feet above the surrounding plain, scattered over with the ruins of different ages. The name, as is obvious, suggests Ashtaroth of the Old Testament, but we decided (and I am pleased to see that Professor George Adam Smith reaches the same conclusion; cf. the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, October, 1901, p. 359) that the place can hardly be identified with the capital of Og. On the contrary, a similar hillock about eight

miles north of this, which we visited, Tell 'Ashtara, about which flow copious streams of water, is, in our opinion, more probably to be identified with Ashtaroth, the royal capital of Deut. 1:4. Going on a half-hour farther, we came to Sheikh S'ad, where again we ran into Turkish soldiers, and this time failed to escape, being compelled to accept of an escort to



A VIEW FROM SALKHAD CASTLE, LOOKING EAST TOWARD BAGHDAD.

conduct us back to Damascus. Inasmuch as we were already faced in that direction, the soldier whom the pasha sent with us in no way changed our plans or restricted our liberties. Nawa was visited *en route*, and also Zora', the latter being situated on the extreme southwest corner of the lava region of el-Lejah. Here we spent a night, and were graciously feasted by the Turkish officers, whose hospitality we quite thoroughly enjoyed; for here we found still another Turkish garrison.

The route chosen the next day was along the edge of the basaltic table-land of el-Lejah; sometimes we crossed broad promontories of basaltic black rock, while at others we followed

the seldom traveled path along the edge of the adjacent fertile plain. On the way we paused at Kirâta and Khabeb, the latter being an industrious Christian village, whose inhabitants are engaged in the important industry of cutting out large mill-stones from the lava which everywhere surrounds the town. Our

last night out was spent in a private house at el-Mismiveh. not far from Brak, at which there is stationed another very strong garrison of Turkish soldiers. From here we journeved directly north one day and arrived safely at Da-



A SARCOPHAGUS AT EDREI, NOW USED AS A WATER-ING TROUGH.

mascus. We were gone something over nine days, during which time we practically encompassed the whole "circuit of Argob," the region of Og, king of Bashan. In what follows we shall attempt to identify the "circuit of Argob" and describe its features of special interest.

The phrase "the circuit of Argob" is mentioned in but two contexts of the Old Testament. In Deut., chap. 3, we read: "And we took all his cities at that time; there was not a city which we took not from them; threescore cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan. All these were cities fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside the unwalled towns a great many" (vss. 4, 5). "And the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half tribe of Manasseh; all the region of Argob, even all Bashan. (The same is called the land of Rephaim. Jair the son of Manasseh took all the region of Argob, unto the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites;

and called them, even Bashan, after his own name, Havvoth-jair, unto this day)" (vss. 13, 14.) On the other hand, in I Kings, chap. 4, we read: "Ben-geber, in Ramoth-gilead; to him pertained the towns of Jair, the son of Manasseh, which are in Gilead: even to him pertained the region of Argob, which is in Bashan, threescore great cities with walls and brazen bars" (vs. 13).

The name Argob seems to spring from a root and, ragab, which signifies "clods of earth" (cf. Job 21:33; 38:38); hence Argob would denote a rich and fertile tract or "glebe" like that of Bashan. Only on the hypothesis that the root is cognate with and, ragam, can it be made to signify "stony." The name is invariably used in connection with and, hebel, which signifies "cord" (Josh. 2:15) or "measuring line" (Mic. 2:5), and figuratively "a measured portion, or allotment" (Josh. 17:7; 19:9), being applied to a particular district or region (Zeph. 2:5, 7). The common usage of this word suggests, therefore, that the expression implies a circuit with definite boundaries.

The identification of Argob with el-Lejah (i. e., "refuge, retreat") is uncertain; its precise situation, accordingly, remains undetermined; all that can be positively affirmed is that it was located somewhere in Bashan (Deut. 3:4). It may have included the western portion lying between Edrei, Ashtaroth, and Jebel ed-Druze (so Dillmann in his Commentary, and Guthe in the Z. D. P. V., 1890, p. 237); or it may have designated more especially the western declivities of Jebel Hauran, north of Salkhad (so Driver, art. "Argob" in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible). The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan restrict it to the Trachonitis of the Greeks, that is, the region known to the Arabs of today as el-Lejah, a rocky region and easily defensible. In 1838 it is said that 6,000 Druses defended it successfully against Ibrahim Pasha, of Egypt, who lost 20,000 men in attempting to force it. Argob certainly included this rocky portion of the land of Bashan.

El-Lejah is geologically one of the most interesting portions of all Palestine. It is an immense bed of congealed lava, which seems to have issued forth from the many now extinct cones of the Ḥauran mountains, situated a few miles to the southeast,

especially from the Ghararat el-Kibliyeh, a now extinct volcano in the northwestern portion of the mountainous district. The lava issuing from the craters of these volcanoes seems to have flowed out on every side, but especially toward the northwest, covering a territory oval in shape, about twenty-two miles long from north to south, and fifteen from east to west. Before cooling,



ANCIENT BRIDGE AT EL-KANAWÂT.

its surface was apparently violently agitated by internal convulsions of nature. The wavy surface shows in which direction the current of the thick liquid was flowing while in the process of cooling. It is frequently filled with air-bubbles; the whole mass is almost as hard as flint and emits a sharp, metallic sound when struck. Out of it, notwithstanding, many of the millstones of Syria and Palestine have been chiseled, some having been transported even as far as to Egypt.

This pear-shaped district is located about thirty miles south of Damascus and forty east of the Sea of Galilee. It rises abruptly some twenty to thirty feet above the level of the surrounding plain; its surface is generally of the same altitude, but at the same time rough and rugged and very fatiguing to traverse. It consists largely of a solid mass of congealed basalt, appropriately called "a strange petrified ocean," with numerous detached boulders of the same black material; the surface is divided in every



STONE DOORS IN THE REGION OF ARGOB.

direction by crevices and fissures, with here and there small fertile and cultivated depressions. Through many of its labyrinthine gullies the iron-shod hoofs of horses and other beasts of burden have in course of time succeeded in wearing tracks or roads leading into the interior of the region. The Romans in their day, indeed, cut a highway through its entire length from north to south, connecting Damascus and Bosra.

Near the borders especially, but also scattered throughout this entire

region, are still to be seen the standing remains of many strongly built cities, each with its watchtower of black basalt. Over fifty have been counted. At one sweep of the eye I remember of having called my companion's attention to seven watchtowers, belonging to as many different cities close about us. Baedeker's Handbook for Palestine and Syria gives the names, and locates on its map of el-Lejah the situation, of nearly threescore cities and towns. Several of these today are without inhabitants, just as the sides of Jebel ed-Druze are studded with deserted villages. Wetzstein reports, in his Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen (1860), having seen in the Druse mountains hundreds of stone-built villages with

their gates and bars. Porter also, in his *Giant Cities of Bashan*, describes the almost numberless ruins of towns and cities in this same volcanic region.

The dwellings in all these parts are ordinarily built of massive blocks of basalt stone, with stone stairways on the outside leading to the roof, and with heavy double folding doors moving in great sockets cut in door-sills and requiring all one's strength, as the writer can testify, to open and close. Many of these dwellings are still in a good state of preservation—indeed so well preserved that the traveler, in approaching one of these towns, expects to find its citizens thronging the streets; but, alas! instead he finds a deserted village. At least a score in el-Lejah alone are in this extinct condition, being absolutely without an inhabitant. The effect produced upon the traveler is weird. How long they may have been depopulated it is difficult to say. While the architecture of the superstructures seems to point in most cases to the Græco-Roman style of the early Christian centuries, one can hardly doubt but that the actual foundations of these massive structures may date from a much earlier period. Who would dare affirm that these now extinct cities do not represent in some way, if not by their superstructures, at least by their foundations, the "threescore cities" of the ancient kingdom of Og, which are described in Deuteronomy as having had high walls, double gates, and bars? For the account in Deuteronomy describes in a marvelous manner the actual conditions which exist today.

But besides these habitations of stone, which we have attempted to describe, there exist also on the west of the Zumleh range and at Edrei subterranean chambers, entered by shafts invisible from above, and intended as retreats in time of war. At Edrei there is an extensive underground city, first discovered by Wetzstein in 1860, but more fully described by Schumacher in his work Across the Jordan, 1882 (pp. 135 ff.), consisting of a succession of chambers with "mangers" for grain and cisterns for water, and obviously intended as a place of retreat in time of siege. According to Schumacher, "it seems probable that these underground cities are the work of the

earliest inhabitants of the Hauran, the so-called 'giants' of Scripture' (p. 139).

Perhaps it is to these subterranean resorts that reference is made in the Law when the promise is given to the children of Israel that the Lord will send the "hornet" among them, until



TEMPLE AT SULEIM, IN THE SOUTHEASTERN PORTION OF ARGOB.

they that are left and hide themselves perish from before them (Deut. 7:20; Exod. 23:28). The hornets are said habitually to infest these underground places of refuge.

Troglodyte habitations also are frequently seen in the Druse mountains. Caverns have been found at Umm Dubeb, 'Ajelâ, and Shibikka on the eastern slopes of Jebel ed-Druze, along valleys cut in the soft rock, and so arranged as to

form separate chambers. In one case, described by Wetzstein, at Hibbikke, about eight miles northeast of Salkhad, a chamber was found cut out of the rock and covered with a solid stone vault, like a tunnel or cellar. These habitations would also naturally belong to the earliest inhabitants of the region.

In view, therefore, of the character of el-Lejah and the mountainous district lying adjacent to it on the southeast, it is impossible to conclude that a rocky, unproductive region such as el-Lejah, with its sixty cities more or less, could ever have been a separate independent division of Og's territory. It is

rather more likely to suppose that in that remote age el-Lejah was the natural fortress, so to speak, within which the inhabitants of the land of Bashan, or at least all those in the adjacent parts, built their houses for self-protection. So that, when it is stated in the book of Deuteronomy that the Israelites took "all the circuit of Argob," even the threescore cities of Og, king of Bashan, the author intends to convey the thought that not only did the Israelites conquer the open country of the plain and seize the cities thereof, but also the fortified and inaccessible cities of el-Lejah and of the volcanic mountains to the southeast, driving out all the inhabitants of these regions, notwithstanding that they were able to, and probably did, betake themselves to their underground fortresses for refuge. In other words, "the circuit of Argob" is commensurate with the entire region of el-Lejah and Jebel ed-Druze-the most secure and bestdefended portions of the land of Bashan, the kingdom of Og.

### THE MEDICAL LANGUAGE OF ST. LUKE.

By Rev. Professor R. J. Knowling, D.D., King's College, London, England.

Dr. Hobart, in his well-known book on the Medical Language of St. Luke, refers to an article in the Gentleman's Magazine, June, 1841 (p. 585), as the earliest notice on the subject with which he was acquainted; and Dr. Plummer refers to the same article. in his Commentary on St. Luke, as perhaps the earliest notice of this characteristic of the evangelist with which we are concerned. But it is of interest to observe that nearly a century earlier than this article in the Gentleman's Magazine one of the greatest of New Testament editors and commentators, J. J. Wetstein, had drawn attention to the medical accuracy of Luke in his gospel and in Acts (see under Luke 14:2; Acts 28:8). And earlier still another illustrious commentator, J. A. Bengel, had remarked the same characteristic in his comments on Luke 8:43; Acts 3:7. A succession of German writers has drawn attention to the same subject, and Dr. Zahn, in his recent Einleitung in das Neue Testament (Vol. II, p. 427), has borne generous and ungrudging testimony to the value of Dr. Hobart's book. Among recent English writers Professor Ramsay, in his St. Paul the Traveler (p. 205); Dr. Plummer, in his Commentary on St. Luke (pp. lxiii-lxvi); and Sir John Hawkins, in his Horae Synopticae (p. 184), have drawn special attention to the same book, and have recognized that the author's main point has been abundantly proved (see further Expositor's Greek Testament, Vol. II, pp. 9 f.).1

"Of the writers who support the thesis maintained in the following pages we may mention the following Roman Catholic scholars: Hug, Kaulen, Belser, Knabenbauer, and Fouard; and, in addition to the English scholars already named, there are J. Smith, of Jordanhill, Trench, Alford, Humphry, Lightfoot, and, more recently, Salmon, Page, Headlam (art. "Acts" in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible), Bebb (art. "Luke, Gospel of," ibid.), Rendall, Lumby, Farrar, Pullan, Rackham; see also HACKETT, Commentary on Acts, p. 341. It is a matter of regret that Renan has not

An endeavor will be made in the following pages to take some leading instances in Luke's gospel and in Acts, and to subject each alleged medical term to the tests demanded by Dr. Plummer: Is it used in the LXX? Is it employed in classical Greek? We may commence our inquiry with a few passages in which we have the advantage of comparing Luke's words with those employed in parallel passages by Matthew and Mark.

The healing of Simon's wife's mother is narrated by all the synoptists: Luke 4:38, 39; Matt. 8:14; Mark 1:30. Matthew and Mark both use the same word, πυρρέσσουσα, "sick of a fever;" Luke says συνεχομένη πυρετώ μεγάλω, "holden with a great fever." It may be admitted that the verb συνέγεσθαι is often used with νοσήματι in classical Greek in a similar sense, and that it is so found in Josephus. But it may be observed that both it and the simple verb ἔχεσθαι are constantly used by the medical writers as in this passage; that in Acts 28:8 we not only have it joined with πυρετός as here, but we also have its simple form joined with δυσεντερία, just as in Hippocrates we have the phrase ὑπὸ δυσεντερίης ἐγομένω; and that we also have in the passage before us the familiar distinction drawn in medical writings between a great and a slight fever, upon which Zahn equally with Hobart lays stress. Moreover, here as so often elsewhere, Luke introduces his characteristic word mapaχρημα. In the New Testament this word occurs eighteen times, but sixteen of these instances are in Luke's writings. The word is not only frequent in medical writers like Hippocrates and Galen, but it is used by them in a manner analogous to its use by Luke, i. e., it is constantly associated with recovery from sickness or the contrary, and closely joined with medical terms. From one writing of Hippocrates Hobart cites, as Zahn reminds us, no less than sixteen instances of the employment of the word. No doubt it must be admitted that the adverb is found several times in the LXX, and that it is of frequent occurrence in the best Attic prose. But still it is significant that its employment in the New Testament is almost exclusively confined to given us more than a general statement, but it is significant that he speaks, not only of Luke as having the title of "physician," but also of his writings as proving his medical knowledge.

Luke, and that in eleven out of sixteen passages it is associated by him with disease and death.

Luke's next chapter (chap. 5) supplies us with two cases in which we may again compare his words with those of his brotherevangelists. While Matthew and Mark describe the leper who seeks the aid of Jesus by the same simple term λεπρός, Luke (5:12) has the significant phrase πλήρης λέπρας, peculiar to him in the New Testament. The adjective is no doubt characteristic of Luke, but it is in frequent use in connection with disease, as, e.g., with leprosy, both in Hippocrates and Galen. There is no parallel phrase in the LXX, although λέπρα is constantly used, and the phrase "a leper as white as snow" is applied to Miriam and to Gehazi. A few verses later we have a description of the healing of the paralytic at Capernaum. Here, as elsewhere, Matthew and Mark have the popular form mapaluτικός, "a paralytic;" Luke, alone of the New Testament writers. here and always has the technical term παραλελυμένος, "a man that was palsied" (in 5:24 Westcott and Hort read in the margin παραλυτικώ), and so in Acts 8:7; 9:33. From no less than four medical writers, as Zahn again points out, are parallels adduced by Hobart to a use of the expression in the sense of the passage before us. The only other passage in the New Testament in which the word occurs is Heb. 12:12, where it is evidently used metaphorically in a quotation from the LXX; cf. also Eccles. 25:23, which is evidently a quotation (as in Hebrews) from Isa. 35:3. It must be admitted that in I Macc. 9:55 we have the expression  $\kappa a i \pi a \rho \epsilon \lambda i \theta \eta$  used of Alcimus, and in 3 Macc. 9:22 τοις μέλεσι παραλελυμένος of Ptolemy Philopator; but the fact remains that not only in Acts, but in narratives which we can parallel, as here, with those of the other synoptists. Luke used a technical medical term, and that, too, absolutely. Moreover, in Luke's narrative we have not merely the characteristic παραχρημα, but also one of the four words for "bed" which he employs, a word used by him alone, κλινίδιον (5:19). Luke, in fact, uses two words for the bed of the sick, in common with Matthew and Mark; but in addition to them two other words, peculiar to his writings, κλινίδιον and κλινάριον, the former

occurring twice in this narrative (5:19, 24), and the latter in Acts 5:15.

It cannot be said that the employment of diminutives is characteristic of Luke, as is sometimes alleged (whether rightly or wrongly) of Mark; nor can it be maintained that the two diminutives in question are borrowed from the LXX, for neither of them is found there. Both the words are classed by Dr. Kennedy as "colloquial," and they both occur in Aristophanes; but there are distinct instances, as Hobart shows, of the reference of both words to the couch of the sick. And so the fact remains that in the writings of the evangelist who is known to us as Luke the physician we have no less than four words used to denote, as the context almost invariably proves (except in Luke 8:16; 17:34, where  $\kappa\lambda \ell\nu\eta$  is used quite generally), the beds of the sick.

While our Lord is apparently still in Capernaum he enters on another sabbath into the synagogue, where there was a man whose right hand ( $\hat{\eta}$   $\chi \epsilon i \rho$   $a \hat{v} \tau o \hat{v}$   $\hat{\eta}$   $\delta \epsilon \xi l a$ ) was withered, Luke 6:6. Luke alone, unlike the other evangelists, mentions the right hand,  $\hat{\eta}$   $\delta \epsilon \xi l a$  being added emphatically after  $\chi \epsilon l \rho$  (cf. Acts 3:7). Zahn notes the significance of this point, especially as it was customary with medical men to state whether the right or left member was affected.

In Luke 8:27-39 the healing of the demoniac of Gerasa is described by Luke, as also by the two other synoptists. It was once remarked to the writer by an Oxford scholar of high standing that, if medical language was characteristic of any writer in the New Testament, it was so of Mark rather than of Luke; and it is no doubt true that Mark introduces many terms for which parallels can be found in medical writers, as we can see by glancing down the references in Wetstein. It is also true that in the miracle before us, and perhaps more notably still in the healing of the demoniac boy after the Transfiguration, the details are given by Mark with a vividness and fulness which are very striking. But this constant introduction by Mark of little points of detail may be fairly accounted for by the fact that Mark, as there is good reason to believe, received his

account from Peter, an eyewitness; and the fact still remains that Luke also is able to introduce details here, as elsewhere, peculiar to himself, and details, too, which are quite characteristic of a medical man (see Zahn, u. s., and Hobart, p. 17). To take one point only: neither of the other evangelists mentions that the disease had lasted a long time (ἐκ χρόνων ἰκανῶν), a fact which might naturally claim the attention of a physician, as intermittence was mentioned by Aretæus among the notes of mania, and a fact quite in accordance with Luke's invariable custom to give us, as Zahn again notes, the period of the duration of the malady in those who were afflicted.

The case of the Gerasene demoniac is quickly followed in Luke's gospel by the cure of the woman with an issue of blood. Here again it might be fairly urged that Mark, in the parallel 5:25 (not Matthew), uses an expression which is quite medical, the identical expression, in fact, used by Luke 8:43, ovoa ev prose almatos, "having an issue of blood." But note what follows: while Mark tells us that the fountain of her blood was dried up (expravon, 5:29), Luke, using again the medical phrase proses almatos, tells us that the issue of her blood staunched (etath), 8:44). He thus not only employs istair in a sense in which it is found in no other New Testament passage, but he also introduces a distinct medical term, used especially, as by Hippocrates and Galen, of such bodily discharges as are mentioned here, in place of what Zahn calls the poetical expression of Mark.

There is perhaps no miracle in the account of which we are more sensible of the graphic and circumstantial details of Mark than in the healing of the demoniac boy as our Lord descended from the Transfiguration glory. But we must not forget that Luke introduces some striking words in his narrative which are not found in the other gospels. For example, Luke describes the spirit as tearing the boy that he foameth ( $\mu\epsilon\tau a$   $a\phi\rho o\hat{\nu}$ , 9:39). Here we have a word used only by Luke in the New Testament and not found in the LXX, but employed in classical Greek sometimes as here, and often also by medical writers, as by Hippocrates and Aretæus, in describing the symptoms of epilepsy.

Again, Luke alone introduces the word exalpons, "he suddenly crieth out," a word which Zahn no less than Hobart regards as a term which Luke would naturally introduce from its constant employment in medical language in connection with spasms and paroxysms. It is true that the word occurs several times in the LXX, and that Mark uses it on one occasion (13:36), but Luke has it four times in his writings, and it occurs in only these five passages in the New Testament. Other terms in the narrative are also noted by Zahn as medical, e. g., ἐπιβλέπειν, "to look upon," used by Luke in the account of this miracle and in 1:48. The verb is found once, it is true, in James 2:3, but in a different sense. It was used also in the LXX (Tobit, Judith) of regarding with pity. But it was also constantly employed by Galen (see J. Weiss, in loc.) of examining the appearance and condition of a patient, and it might therefore be fitly chosen by Luke in this connection.

There is another miracle of healing which is common, not only to Luke and the other synoptists, but to John as well. Gethsemane, on the night of the Passion, Peter strikes with his sword a servant of the high-priest and cuts off his right ear. All four evangelists record the effect of the sword-cut, but Luke alone tells us how lesus touched the ear and healed it. Dr. E. A. Abbott, in his elaborate account of the miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury (1898), informs us in his last chapter that, even if the saint's miracles of healing or restoring members of the body could be accepted, yet the similar miracle attributed by Luke to Jesus in the narrative before us must be rejected. And his first reason for this rejection is that the three other evangelists omit the record of the healing. But it is surely significant that this mention should thus come from the medical evangelist only; in Zahn's judgment we cannot attribute this fact to chance, and J. Weiss, in his commentary, notes that "only Luke the physician has the healing" (Luke 22:50). Moreover, if the insertion had been due to a later tradition or to legend, we should have expected to find such a notice, not in Luke, but in a much later gospel, the gospel of John (see further, in reply to Abbott, Plummer, Commentary on St. Luke, p. 545).

In addition to the miracles already mentioned, it must not be forgotten that there are others peculiar to Luke. Among the few detailed accounts of restoration to life in the gospels, Luke alone gives us the raising of the widow's son at Nain. In this narrative, Luke 7:15, as also in Acts 9:40, but nowhere else in the New Testament, we have the verb ἀνακαθίζειν, "to sit up." Hippocrates, Aretæus, Galen, all use the verb in this intransitive sense, which is rare, to describe patients sitting up in bed. The verb does not occur in the LXX, but it is used by Plato in the middle voice, ἀνακαθιζόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην (Phædo, c. 3, p. 60b), in the same sense. Dr. Plummer refers to the medical use of the verb, although he only reckons it among the doubtful cases (op. cit., p. lxv). But the fact remains that we have here a word which is frequently used by medical writers (so Grimm-Thayer, s. v.), used once, if not twice, by Luke alone in the New Testament in its characteristic medical sense and verbal form. Moreover, the whole phraseology of the evangelist in narrating this miracle should be fairly taken into account (on which see Hobart, in loc.).

In the healing of the woman with a spirit of infirmity, Luke 13:11–13, the verb  $\partial \nu a \kappa \nu \pi \tau \epsilon \nu \nu$ , "could in no wise lift herself up," is peculiar to Luke in the New Testament, at all events in con nection with disease. Not only is it just the kind of term which a medical man would employ, but it is associated with other noticeable verbs in the immediate context. Galen uses the verb for the straightening of the vertebræ of the spine (closely joined with  $\partial \rho \theta \delta \omega$ , cf.  $\partial \nu \rho \rho \delta \omega$  below), and Hippocrates uses the noun  $\kappa \nu \nu \rho \delta \omega$  or  $\kappa \nu \nu \rho \delta \omega$  for a curvature of the spine, and also the verb  $\delta \nu \nu \omega$  for its removal; cf.  $\delta \nu \nu \delta \nu \omega \nu \omega \omega \omega$ , "thou art loosed" (vs. 12), only here in the New Testament of disease. The same verb is used twice in the LXX, but in the sense of lifting up or throwing back the head.

One other verb claims attention:  $\kappa a \lambda \pi a \rho a \chi \rho \hat{\eta} \mu a \lambda \nu o \rho \theta \omega \theta \eta$ , "and immediately she was made straight." The verb  $\lambda \nu o \rho \theta \delta \omega$  is frequently found in the LXX, but almost always in a figurative sense, and never, as frequently in medical writers, in connection with disease. See its similar use in the only other New Testa-

ment passage in which it occurs, Heb. 12:12. Dr. Plummer declines to class this word and ἀπολύειν as in any sense medical terms, but in commenting in loc. he points out that Hobart has shown that the verb is used by medical writers of straightening abnormal or dislocated parts of the body (cf. the use of  $\partial \rho \theta \dot{\phi} s$  by Luke alone, Acts 14:10). It would seem, therefore, that we have a series of terms which a medical man would be likely to use, and that added to this we find, not only the characteristic παραχρημα, but another frequent characteristic, the mention of the length of time the disease had lasted (for other instances see Hobart, Zahn). In the next chapter of his gospel Luke (14:2) speaks of a certain man who had the dropsy. The incident is peculiar to his narrative, and in his description he uses, as J. Weiss notes, the technical word of the medical writers, ύδρωπικός. The term is employed also by Aristotle and Polybius, but it is not found elsewhere in biblical Greek, although the disease is referred to (Numb. 5:21 f.).2

But Luke's medical phraseology may be traced, not only in the miracles of his gospel, but in familiar sayings and incidents common to him and to one or other of his brother-evangelists, or in sayings peculiar to him. It must, for instance, always remain an interesting fact that our Lord's quotation of the saying, "Physician, heal thyself," to which parallels may be found in Jewish and also in medical literature, is given us by Luke alone, 4:23 (and for instances of the use of specific medical terms see Zahn, u. s.).

One of our Lord's sayings, made familiar to us by all three synoptists, tells us: "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." Matt. 9:12 and Mark 2:17 both give us the saying in identical Greek terms, while Luke 5:31 introduces the verb  $\dot{\nu}\gamma\iota a\dot{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ , "to be whole," a common word, no doubt, both in the LXX and in classical Greek, but also the distinctive medical term for being in good health, in contrast to  $\nu o\sigma\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$ . The verb  $\dot{\nu}\gamma\iota a\dot{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$  is used only three times in the gos-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zahn, as well as Hobart, emphasizes the fact that Luke's medical bias may be seen in the words which he abstains from using as well as in those which he employs (cf. Hobart, p. 61).

pels, and each time by Luke in this its primary sense (cf. 7:10; 15:27); elsewhere in the same sense (3 John, vs. 2), and frequently by Paul in his later epistles. Dr. Plummer, who cannot be accused of failing to test each word which can by any possibility be claimed as medical, thus comments in loc.: "For oi irralivortes Matthew and Mark have oi irralivortes. This looks like a deliberate change made by Luke for the sake of a word which would more definitely express health as opposed to sickness. Like παραλελυμένος for παραλυτικός (5:18, 24), and lάσθαι for διασώζειν (6:19), these changes may be the result of Luke's medical training" (cf. Salmon, Introd., p. 29, and Zahn, u. s.).

The present writer has elsewhere<sup>3</sup> drawn attention to the remarkable combination of words which is found in Luke's rendering of the familiar saying, 18:25, as compared with the language of the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark, and it may be sufficient to add the following notable passage from Professor Nestle's Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament, Eng. tr., p. 275: "The evidence in support of the readings τρήματος (eye) and βελόνης (needle) is very strong (NBDL). The choice of the terms τρήμα for τρύπημα or τρυμαλιά and βελόνη for ραφίς betrays the language of the physician." Another familiar saying, common to Matthew and Luke, in which Dr. Plummer admits a term as perhaps accounted for by medical phraseology, is given by the former evangelist (23:9), avrol de  $\tau \hat{\omega}$  δακτύλ $\omega$  αὐτ $\hat{\omega}$ ν οὐ θέλουσι κινήσαι αὐτά, "they themselves will not move them [i. e., the burdens] with their finger." Luke, in recording previously a similar saying (11:46), writes, "ye yourselves do not touch them  $(\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\psi\alpha\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon)$  with one of your fingers (δακτύλων)." The verb used by Luke is not found in the LXX, although it occurs in a few cases in classical Greek; but it would probably have been familiar to Luke, as the simple verb ψαύειν is several times found in Hippocrates, with or without δάκτυλος, of a gentle touch or pressure of the body, as distinct from πιέζειν, of a heavier pressure, while its compounds προσψαύειν and παραψαύειν were also current medical terms (so Hobart).

Among the terms upon which Dr. Zahn lays special stress is

<sup>3</sup> Expositor's Greek Testament, Vol. II, pp. 9 ff.

Luke's use of the verb ἀτενίζειν, "to look steadfastly." verb is found no less than fourteen times in the New Testament, of which twelve instances are in Luke, and the remaining two in Paul. References can no doubt be given to its employment by Aristotle, Polybius, and Josephus; but it was also a favorite word with medical writers to describe a peculiar, fixed look (see instances from Hippocrates, Aretæus, Galen, in Hobart, p. 76). It would, therefore, be the kind of word which a medical writer might naturally introduce to denote an earnest, fixed gaze. And thus it is noticeable that Luke introduces it (22:56) in a passage which finds a parallel in Mark 14:67. One of the maids in the high-priest's palace sees Peter warming himself, and "she looked upon him (ἐμβλέψασα αὐτῷ)," says Mark; but Luke says, "she looked steadfastly upon him (ἀτενίσασα αὐτῷ)." instances of LXX usage which Hatch and Redpath give (1 Esd. 6:28; 3 Macc. 2:26) do not help us, because this verb is employed in these two cases in a secondary sense; but in Aquila, Job 7:8, it is employed in its primary meaning of "beholding," "gazing with the eye."

One of our Lord's most familiar parables is that of the Sower, given us by all three synoptists. Now, without laying stress upon the descriptive part of the parable in Luke's gospel, in which both Zahn and Hobart trace medical terms, we may turn for a moment to the explanation of the parable, which is also found in all three writers. The man who receives seed among the thorns allows the cares of this world to choke the seed, "and he becometh unfruitful;" so Matt. 13:12 and Mark 4:19 in precisely similar Greek terms. But when we turn to Luke 8:14 we find quite a different expression: "and (they) bring no fruit to perfection (οὐ τελεσφοροῦσι)." Here is a word, not only peculiar to Luke in the New Testament, but not found at all in the LXX, although it occurs apparently in a metaphorical sense in 4 Macc. 13:19. It must be admitted that the verb is used precisely in the same sense as here of the growth of plants by Theophrastus, Strabo, Josephus. But its frequent medical use is supported by passages from Aretæus, Dioscorides, Galen; and, although it is no doubt employed by them of women and animals bringing their young to maturity, it is also used, exactly as by Luke, of fruit and seed coming to perfection; e.g., Dioscorides, Mat. Med., V, 2, uses it so of the vine (see J. Weiss, in loc.).

But while these and other similar passages may fairly be adduced in support of our position, it is no doubt true that some of the alleged instances must be subjected to very careful sifting. For example, in the concluding passage of the Sermon on the Mount, as compared with the corresponding passage in the sermon given us by Luke, Dr. Zahn emphasizes the language of Matt. 7:26 f., when placed side by side with that of Luke 6:48 f. The latter introduces in this one passage four words which do not occur either in Matthew or elsewhere in the New Testament, but which are of frequent occurrence in medical writers. The word πλήμμυρα, "flood," occurs in the LXX, although only once, in Job 40:18(23); but it is found in Josephus, in Philo, in Plutarch, and its cognate forms occur in classical Greek. The verb συνέπεσε (Westcott and Hort, R. V.) is no doubt used by medical writers of the collapsing of the body or of some members of it; but it is also found, according to high authority, in Job 4:14, τὰ ὀστᾶ συνέπεσεν; it is used in the same connection by Plato, and also in classical Greek of the falling together, falling in, of a house. The verb προσέρρηξεν, "against which the stream brake," is undoubtedly employed by medical writers of the rupture or bursting of veins, and it is not found in the LXX or in classical Greek in the connection before us, but it is used once by Josephus in the active voice, and by M. Antoninus in the passive voice of waves broken against a promontory. The noun ρηγμα, "the ruin of that house," is not used in this sense either in the LXX or in classical Greek, although in the latter it is used of bodily fractures or ruptures, and so technically in medical writers of the laceration or rupture of the body; but it may be noted that it is found in the LXX (Amos 6:11) of rents in a building (so Plummer). It is evident, therefore, that each of the four words cited by Zahn, in agreement with Hobart, must be used with great caution. But here, as elsewhere, it may still be admitted that it is the combination of medical terms which is noticeable (cf. Luke 18:25; Acts 11:5), although, no doubt, in some cases they are employed in a secondary sense; as also the fact that the same phraseology is not found in parallel passages in the other evangelists.

[To be concluded in the next number.]

## A Meditation.

Phil. 3:14. "I press toward the mark."

There is a decided distinction between perfection of progress and perfection of attainment. Paul was striving after perfection of attainment. He already was making progress. He said: "Not as though I had already obtained, either were already made perfect."

Paul depended largely on his personal example and influence, as well as his words, in helping others. "Brethren, be imitators together of me and mark them who so walk even as ye have us for an example." Our mutual influence over one another can become our strongest ally. We should make all our influence and work tend to soul-development, "going on unto perfection." Money is quite essential in this age, but that consideration should be entirely secondary.

The larger the soul, the larger the capacity for enjoyment, not only here, but hereafter. We can be what we will be. Let each one believe that it is possible by the grace of God in Christ to be what God intended he should be. As we advance, advancement becomes more possible, even necessary. The more we widen our field of vision, the more we take in of God and his truth. The more we exercise our God-given faculties, the stronger and more enduring will become the fibers of our spiritual natures. Paul's motto is indeed a noble one: "I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

EMORY L. COLE.

BAD AXE, MICH.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Luke's medical phraseology may be traced in the narratives and parables peculiar to him (see Hobart and Zahn, u. s.). Zahn draws attention to the significant fact that in Luke's account of our Lord's birth terms are frequently used which are specially characteristic of medical writing.

### TRUE AND FALSE PROPHETS IN 1 KINGS, CHAP. 22

By REV. DEAN A. WALKER, Ph.D., South West Harbor, Me.

The terms "true" and "false," as applied to the prophets of the Old Testament, serve to distinguish those whom the Bible approves from those whom it does not approve. Yet few, it may be, of those who use these terms in this general sense have considered the question wherein consists the trueness of the one class and the falseness of the other. With many the readiest answer would be that the false prophets were those whose predictions did not come to pass. Others would say that the false prophets were those who were not commissioned of God to speak for him. Still others would make the distinction to be that the true prophets tried to teach the people the truth, while the false prophets wilfully tried to deceive them.

To the people of Old Testament times this was not a question of merely academic interest, but one of vital importance; for these prophets were their contemporaries, to whom they had to look for practical guidance in political and spiritual things. They could not, as some champions of inspiration in these days profess to be able to do, accept a "thus saith the Lord" as an all-sufficient criterion of the true prophet, because they knew that every claimant to the prophetic office in those times used this same introductory formula (I Kings 22:11; Jer. 23:30–40), and that Moabite and Assyrian monarchs were quite as prone to hear a divine calling in their own patriotic and personal inclinations as any Hebrew king or prophet.

It is not strange, therefore, that we find in the Bible more than one attempt to give the people some test by which they might know the true prophet from the false. We read in Deut. 18:21, 22: "And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor

come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken: the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously, thou shalt not be afraid of him." Evidently, such a criterion is, at best, only a negative one, and applies only when a prophet is willing to stake his reputation on the fulfilment of a definite prediction. Moreover, if the prediction be ambiguous or its fulfilment be put far into the future, it is of little use to a man wanting to know his immediate duty. The form implies also, though not with absolute necessity, the converse—that, if the thing come to pass, the predicter may then be regarded as a true prophet. But, obviously, an impostor could hardly fail to hit right in some of his shrewd guesses.

The Deuteronomist himself saw this and felt the need of some further limitation in the test. Accordingly, in 13:1-3, he gives this additional rule: "If there arise in the midst of thee a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and he give thee a sign or a wonder, and [read, even though] the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saving, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto that prophet or that dreamer of dreams." To the former test of clairvoyance there is here added an ethical one. The character and purpose of the would-be prophet must be looked at in their relation to certain ultimate principles of the divine law. If those principles were already embodied in written form, we have here something closely parallel to the appeal which the Protestant reformers made from the pope and the councils to the Scriptures; and in the positiveness of it, it is surpassed only by Paul's demand that, though he himself or an angel from heaven should preach any other gospel than that which he has already preached, let him be anathema (Gal. 1:8). To the ordinary mind, such an appeal from Paul future to Paul past would be rather confusing; and to the man of Old Testament times, if he reflected that the law was given by Moses, it might have been equally difficult to choose between a prophet long since dead and one who was now making predictions fulfilled before his very eyes.

It is plain, however, that in substituting an ethical test for

mere success in prediction and miracle-working, the Deuteronomist has come to higher ground, and a time-honored law may reasonably command greater respect than the claims of some upstart prophet. Superior powers for wonder-working were valuable in ancient times as introductory credentials. Jesus himself did not disdain to make use of them. But a right moral purpose was a sine qua non of the true prophet.

Nevertheless, even a right moral purpose does not of itself constitute a man a true prophet. Beyond this it is necessary that he be correct in the great underlying premises of his prophecies, and by the correctness of these must his work ultimately stand or fall.

No better text for a study of such premises and purposes can be found in the Bible than the chapter (I Kings, chap. 22) in which the so-called false prophets encouraged Ahab to go up against Ramoth-gilead. Judged by the outcome of the campaign, they certainly were false prophets, and, by the same test, Micaiah ben-Imlah was a true prophet. But it is hardly fair to let Micaiah go down in history as a true prophet, and to condemn all the other four hundred as false solely on the ground of their attitude in the one and only incident in which they are known to us. Why may it not have been a successful hit on Micaiah's part? What reason have we to suppose that he was equally happy in all his attempts to forecast the future? All else that we know of him is what we have on Ahab's testimony (vs. 8), that Micaiah had always been, like the proverbial Irishman, "agin the government." As the party "in opposition," he must often, as Ahab implies, have met the king's plans with prophecies of evil. Yet Ahab throughout his reign had been what we would call, from a political point of view, a successful man. He had bound to himself by matrimonial alliance the king of Sidon; and by the marriage of his daughter with the son of Jehoshaphat he had ended the wars between Judah and Israel which previous dynasties had kept alive since the disruption; and, in spite of the opposition and maledictions of certain of the Jehovah prophets, he seemed in a fair way to secure a reunion of the two kingdoms under a descendant of both David and Omri (2 Kings 8:18).

He had been defeated by the Assyrians at Karkar, it is true, but, what was of far more importance to him, he had been uniformly successful against his nearer enemy, Ben-hadad of Syria, and was able to command the tribute of Moab. It would seem that Micaiah's predictions must often have been wide of the mark and those of the four hundred successful. Moreover, the mass of the people were so subservient to Ahab that he had been able to transgress the ancient laws of landed inheritance with impunity.

What, now, were the grounds on which the four hundred ventured to predict success at Ramoth-gilead? We may reasonably believe them to have been such as the following:

1. There were some whose principle in predicting was to say the agreeable thing whenever there was an even chance of its proving correct.

2. There were those whose principle was to prophesy whichever way seemed likely to pay best in physical convenience. They had no liking for a dungeon and a bread-and-water diet.

3. There were those who always made it a point to be found in the majority. In this case, perhaps for reasons we shall consider later, the majority was overwhelmingly in favor of the war.

4. Some, who otherwise would have condemned the project, seeing that a large majority were in favor of it, and moved by what is often considered a praiseworthy desire for harmony, voted "to make it unanimous" (vs. 13). The above classes of men have no claim to be called true prophets.

5. Some who at heart, perhaps, doubted the expediency of the plan, saw that Ahab was bent on going anyway, and, believing that courage is half the battle, would do what they could to give him this initial advantage. These were the opportunists. They came nearer to being true prophets. They meant well and tried to make the best of the situation.

6. There were those who favored the campaign from a sense of justice. As the result of the last war, Ben-hadad had promised to give back to Ahab the cities that his father had taken from Ahab's father (I Kings 20:34). Ramoth-gilead was one of these. But three years had now passed (22:1), and Benhadad had not yet complied with this item in the treaty. It was

time to use forcible measures. Those who agreed with the king in this were the idealists. Let justice be done though the heavens fall.

7. Finally, there were the philosophical theologians, constituting the responsible nucleus of the four hundred. They were guided in their forecasts of the future by certain great principles of divine providence, as they understood it, which constituted their philosophy of life. Chief among these principles was one that figures prominently in Old Testament thought: the belief that righteousness has its reward in material and temporal prosperity, with its natural corollary that material prosperity is an evidence of divine favor. Ahab, as we have noted above, had been a successful man. According to this philosophy, therefore, he was a favorite son of fortune, and there was no reason to suppose that the divine favor was now to be withdrawn. "Nothing succeeds like success," is our modern way of putting it. Ahab could not but be successful. Go up, therefore, to Ramoth-gilead and prosper.

Such were some of the grounds on which the four hundred favored the king's purpose. And they were false prophets, not because they intentionally advised the king contrary to his best interests, nor because they falsely claimed to be inspired of God, for the narrative itself regards them as in some sense his agents in the affair; nor because the outcome was different from what they predicted. But they were false prophets because the grounds on which they made their predictions were false.

Why, on the other hand, should we call Micaiah a true prophet? Not because this one of his many predictions came true, nor because he alone prefaced his words with a "thus saith the Lord," nor because he was more sincere in his belief as to what the outcome would be. It was rather for this, that he had got hold of a more correct and fundamental principle of divine government than these others, namely that, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, a righteous God cannot in the long run favor a wicked man, and such a man Micaiah believed Ahab to be. On this principle he had consistently predicted evil for Ahab throughout his career. We do not know how often these

predictions may have been defeated in specific cases before now. We have shown that Ahab was in a measure justified by his past successes in discrediting Micaiah's auguries of evil. But in the long run Micaiah's principle, that a righteous God cannot favor a wicked man, stands in the same class with the dictum of Socrates, that "there can no evil befall a good man, whether he be alive or dead." These are eternal principles of divine government, and he who prophesies on these principles is a true prophet, however remote or infrequent may be the fulfilments of his specific predictions.

Various ages and different social orders have had their several principles of prophecy. The same half-truth, that temporal prosperity betokens the favor of God, which drove Ahab to his death at Ramoth-gilead, was the ground of that fatal enthusiasm under Jeroboam II. for a coming great day of Jehovah, which the prophet Amos with truer foresight declared was to be a day of darkness and not of light. Napoleon's working principle was that God is on the side of the heaviest battalions, but the heaviest battalions came unexpectedly upon a deep trench in the field of Waterloo, and God was found to be on the other side. The papist believes in the infallibility of councils; the monarchist holds to the divine right of kings and that the king can do no wrong; the democrat interprets the voice of the people as the voice of God.

The prophets among us today are often divided on our great political and social questions; some seek leadership from insincere and selfish motives, but a great many on both sides are honestly trying to promote righteousness. Time only can show which of these latter are the true prophets; for, while the true prophet must preach what he believes to be the truth, uninfluenced by any considerations of what will please others or profit himself, and must accept no man's conscience as a substitute for his own, and must be ready to go on a diet of bread and water for a testimony to his sincerity—above and beyond all these, he must have laid hold of the eternal principles of divine government, and whole truths, not half-truths, must be the basis of his preaching.

## JESUS THE PERFECTER OF FAITH (HEB. 12:2).

By PROFESSOR D. A. HAYES, Ph.D., S.T.D., Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

In a recently published volume of comments upon the Johannine epistles we read: "To speak of Jesus Christ as exercising faith is to use a diction foreign to the New Testament." It is to this sentiment that this paper would take most radical and absolute exception. We believe that the man Jesus, who was the incarnate God, did exercise faith. We believe that in the incarnation he entered into all the limitations of real and genuine humanity. We believe that from beginning to end his religious life was sustained by unfailing faith in the Father's promise, providence, and power. We believe he had to live the life of faith, as every other religious man must live it. We believe that these truths are not foreign to the diction of the New Testament. On the contrary, we believe that they constitute an essential element in the teaching of both the gospels and the epistles. In almost any of the books of the New Testament we might find abundant proof of this fact. In this paper we confine ourselves to the single epistle to the Hebrews.

As a basis for our study we take the titles descriptive of Jesus found in Heb. 12:2, 'Αφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν 'Ιησοῦν. How shall we translate these words, "Looking away unto Jesus who is the ἀρχηγός and the τελειωτής of the faith"? The word ἀρχηγός occurs only four times in our New Testament—twice in the epistle to the Hebrews and twice in the book of Acts. The primary meaning of the word is that of "leader, chief leader, captain, or prince." It represents one who stands at the head of the line as commander or most conspicuous personage. The Authorized Version and the Revised Versions, both British and American, have chosen to give this

DANIEL STEELE, Half Hours with St. John's Epistles, p. 131.

primary meaning to the word in both of the passages in Acts. In Acts 3: 15, του δε άρχηγου της ζωης άπεκτείνατε, they translate, "But ye killed the Prince of life." And in Acts 5:31, τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτήρα ὕψωσεν, they translate, "This one God exalted with his right hand a Prince and a Savior." When we turn to the epistle to the Hebrews we find a strange division of opinion as to the translation of the word in the two passages there. In Heb. 2:10, του άρχηγου της σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι, the Authorized Version consistently held to the primary meaning of the word and translated, "For it became him to make the captain of their salvation perfect." But the Revised Versions put the primary meaning into the margin and a secondary meaning into the text, "It became him to make the author of their salvation perfect." We hold that the Authorized Version, with its primary meaning, consistent with the use of the word in the book of Acts, is clearly the better at this point. The picture of the context is that of God bringing a great company, πολλούς υίούς, "many sons," into glory; and all of them perfected through trial. At their head stands their Captain, their Prince, the First-Born from the dead, leading the host of the redeemed into the glory which he had with the Father before the world was. The statement made concerning him is that it behooved God to make him who was their Leader, their Captain, the Prince of their salvation, perfect through suffering. Acts 3:15 called him the Prince of life. Acts 5:31 called him a Prince and Savior. Heb. 2:10 calls him the Prince of salvation. The primary meaning would seem to be clearly the better at each point.

In the passage which we now seek to interpret, Heb. 12:2, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς πίστεως, the English versions agree in putting the secondary meaning of the word into the text, "Jesus the author of faith." But the Revised Versions have put the primary meaning as an alternative into the margin, "captain of faith." Thayer translates the word, "one who takes the lead in anything and thus affords an example, a predecessor in a matter." And then he interprets the word in this passage to mean: "Jesus who in the pre-eminence of his faith far surpasses the examples of

faith commemorated in chap. II." That this primary meaning is the only proper meaning in this passage the whole context seems clearly to prove. There had been many glorious examples of faith in the Hebrew history. The author enumerates them at great length, beginning with Abel, Enoch, and Noah, and coming down to his own time; but then he hastens to say that, glorious as these examples are, they are subordinate and insignificant when compared with the supreme example of faith furnished by the man Jesus; and he exhorts his readers to look away from all inferior examples, all lesser lights, to their Leader, their Captain, the Prince of faith, the one who stands at the head of the host of the heroes of faith in all history. We believe, then, that the word apxnyo's ought to have its primary meaning in all of the four passages in which it occurs in the New Testament. They all represent Jesus as our Leader, our Captain, our Prince, the Prince of life, the Prince of salvation, the Prince of faith. The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has a word which he uses for "author," or "source," or "cause." It is found in 5:9, Έγένετο αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου, "He became the author of eternal salvation." In 2:10 Jesus is the Captain of salvation, the Leader of the many sons brought into glory, άρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας. In 5:9 he is represented as the author or source or cause of salvation, and a different term is used, aιτιος σωτηρίας. If in 12:2 the writer had intended to call Jesus the author of faith, would he not have used this, his term for that thought, αἴτιος της πίστεως? He chooses the other term, άρχηγός, and represents Jesus as the Leader of the long line, the Prince of the host of the heroes of faith.

We are confirmed in this conclusion when we turn to the study of the other descriptive term found in this clause. Jesus is τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτήν. Jesus is the Prince of faith. He is also the τελειωτής of the faith. What does this term mean? We need not go beyond the limits of the epistle itself to feel sure of our author's usage and meaning. The word τελειωτής itself occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, the Septuagint, the Apocrypha, or the classical Greek literature. But its cognate forms are frequent elsewhere and frequent in

this epistle. The adjective  $\tau \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon \iota o s$ , the two nouns  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \acute{o} \tau \eta s$  and  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \acute{o} \sigma \iota s$ , and the verb  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \acute{o} \omega$  occur thirteen times in the epistle.

In 9:11 we read that Christ came διὰ τῆς μείζονος καὶ τελειότερας σκηνῆς, "through the greater and more perfect tabernacle." This passage suggests the familiar truth that the whole epistle is concerned with the contrast between the Old and the New Dispensation, and that the author affirms that there was something unsatisfactory and incomplete about the former service and worship, tabernacle, temple, ritual, and covenant; and that what was lacking in that dispensation had been supplied by Christ. The Old Dispensation represented dissatisfaction, incompletion, imperfection; the New Dispensation represents satisfaction, completion, perfection. All of the remaining occurrences of these allied words in this epistle easily fall into three groups which revolve about these three ideas:

- I. The imperfection of the Old Dispensation. Heb. 7: II, If there was τελείωσις, perfection through the Levitical priesthood, what further need was there that another priest should arise? There was no perfection there. Perfection came with the New Dispensation. Heb. 7: I9, The law perfected nothing, ἐτελείωσεν οὐδέν. Heb. 9:9, The former gifts and sacrifices were not able to perfect, μὴ δυνάμεναι τελειῶσαι, the worshipers. Heb. 10: I, The law can never make perfect, οὐδέποτε δύνανται τελειῶσαι, them that draw nigh. Heb. II: 40, They, the heroes of faith in the Old Dispensation, should not be made perfect, μὴ τελειωθῶσιν, without us. These five passages all emphasize the fact of the imperfection in the old system of things.
- 2. A second group of four passages presents the contrasted truth, that perfection is attainable by those who have accepted the Christian faith. Heb. 12:23, Ye have come to the spirits of just men who have been perfected,  $\tau \epsilon \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \omega \mu \acute{e}\nu \omega \nu$ . Heb. 10:14, By one offering he hath perfected forever,  $\tau \epsilon \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \omega \kappa \epsilon \nu \epsilon \iota s$  τὸ διηνεκές, them that are being sanctified. Strong meat belongs to those for whom this work has been done. Heb. 5:14, Strong meat is of the perfect,  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \omega \nu$ . All are urged to press into this possibility of grace. Heb. 6:1, Let us be borne to perfection,  $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \iota \nu \nu$   $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \omega \tau \nu$   $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \omega \nu$   $\tau \epsilon \lambda \iota \omega \nu$

3. Between these two groups of passages in the epistle, representing a scheme of salvation where perfection is impossible, and another where perfection is possible, stands a group of four passages which have to do with Jesus, and all of which represent him as perfected, and therefore the superior and Leader of all the imperfect saints who chronologically had preceded him, while at the same time he is the superior and the Leader of all the perfected saints who chronologically succeed him. The first innumerable company he leads by superiority, being perfected, as they were not. The second innumerable company, that of the perfected ones, he leads by priority, being the first of the line. Heb. 2:10, It became God, bringing many sons to glory, to make the first of that glorious company the Leader of the long line, their Captain, the Prince of their salvation, perfect through sufferings, διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι. Heb. 5:9, Having been made perfect, τελειωθείς, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him. Heb. 7:28, For the law appointeth men high-priests, having infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was after the law, appointeth a Son, perfected, τετελειωμένον, for evermore. Last of all in this group we come to the passage which is the object of our study, Heb. 12:2. The context makes its meaning clear. There have been great heroes of faith in our history, the author says, but they were all imperfect. They belonged to a dispensation whose continuous and necessary characteristic we have shown to be its inability to bring its worshipers to perfection. Therefore look away from these imperfect examples of faith to the Perfected One. He is the Prince of faith. He is faith's Perfecter, τη̂s πίστεως τελειωτής. Our study of the allied forms in the epistle leads to the same result. They all represent completion, perfection. All who have to do directly with Jesus represent him as the Perfected One. That, then, must be the meaning of the term, τελειωτής, used in this passage. Jesus has realized in himself to telos, the end which faith was intended to subserve in the development of human character. He has exercised faith fully, continuously, perfectly, from the beginning to the end of his life.

As Thaver puts it, he is the one "who has in his own person raised faith to its perfection and so set before us the highest example of faith." 2 Stevens says: "The author calls upon his readers to follow after the 'leader and perfecter' of their faith, who has illustrated his trust in God and his pursuit of his heavenly vocation in a life which is the perfect pattern of fidelity. Thus for our author Christ is represented, not only as the object of faith, but as the perfect example of it." 3 Westcott concludes: "The whole scope of the passage is to show that in Jesus Christ himself we have the perfect example - perfect in realization and in effect - of that faith which we are to imitate, trusting in Him. . . . . He exhibited faith in its highest form, from first to last, and placing himself, as it were, at the head of the great army of heroes of faith, he carried faith, the source of their strength, to its most complete perfection and to its loftiest triumphs."4 Mason agrees in the general conclusion and affirms that Iesus "first showed what faith really was, and set a complete and faultless example of it, the contemplation of which may animate us to endure trials which have some resemblance to his own."5

We believe that this is one of the climaxing truths in the epistle to the Hebrews, largely lost sight of in the church of today, because of the faulty chapter division in our English Bibles which has separated the crowning example of faith, that of the man Jesus, from the long list of the heroes of faith which preceded it and were intended only to lead up to it; and also because of the mistranslation of the word ἀρχηγός as "author" instead of "leader or prince" in both the Authorized and Revised Versions. The Revised Versions have changed that very misleading translation of the word τελειωτής as "finisher"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, in loc.

<sup>3</sup> The Theology of the New Testament, p. 499.

<sup>4</sup> The Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 395.

<sup>5</sup> The Conditions of Our Lord's Life on Earth, p. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>It might be well to note also that the insertion of the italicized *our* in both the Authorized and Revised Versions is in a measure misleading. The Greek has the definite article. Jesus is the Prince and the Perfect Example of the faith which has been under discussion through the whole of the preceding chapter.

to "perfecter," and have thus greatly improved upon the Authorized Version at this point. Then, properly translated, the meaning of the clause we have under consideration becomes clear: looking away from all other and inferior examples of faith, unto Jesus, the Prince of faith, the Leader of the great host of the heroes of the faith, and the Consummator of faith, the Perfect Example of faith, the one who has exercised faith to the full realization of the result intended by a life of faith in the human soul. We are assured that this must be the meaning of the clause by a study of the terms themselves in their use in parallel passages in the epistle and in the New Testament, by a study of the context, and by the confirmation of the highest scholarly opinion.

We believe that this conception of the life of the man Jesus, as a life in which the exercise of faith, in the same sense in which we exercise faith, furnishes the keynote and the keystone of the character, is the conception of the epistle to the Hebrews throughout. The author of the epistle is emphatic as to the divine dignity of the Redeemer; but he is equally emphatic as to his real humanity. He says that Jesus is a brother to all believers, 2:11. He is one with them, 2:11. He shares their flesh and blood, 2:14. He is made like unto them in all things, 2:16. He is tempted in all points like as they are, 4:16. He learns obedience in gradual, human development, through the experiences of the days and the years, 5:8. He prays and supplicates with strong crying and tears in genuine human dependence upon God, 5:7. He is characterized by godly fear, like Noah or any other godly man, 5:7. He sacrifices his own will to the Father's will always; the one cry of his heart is: "I am come to do thy will, O God," 10:7. There were bright days when in the consciousness of his sonship Jesus lived in undisturbed faith and hope and love, in unquestioning dependence, obedience, and trust. Then there were dark days when he suffered under special stress and trial, in buffetings of mind and agony of soul, even unto blood, 12:4. But his faith held firm. It was tried more terribly than that of any man before him, but it was true.

As Fairbairn has said: "He had to live his personal life (1) within the limits necessary to man, and (2) in perfect dependence upon God. Had he transgressed either of these conditions, he had ceased to be man's ideal Brother or God's ideal Son." He never transgressed these conditions. Within the limits necessary to man his faith had to be constantly exercised, and his faith never failed him.

No wonder that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews exhorts his readers near the very beginning of his discussion: "Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of a heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High-Priest of our confession, even Jesus; who was faithful to him that appointed him," 3:1, 2. And no wonder that here toward the epistle's close we come upon the corresponding and climaxing exhortation of the whole discussion: "Look unto Jesus, the Prince of the faith, the Perfect Example of the faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising shame, and hath sat down at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider him that hath endured such gainsaying of sinners against themselves, that ye wax not weary, fainting in your souls. Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin," 12:2-4. Jesus did all of this, and therefore he is, as Stevens says, "the supreme example of unshaken trust in God. He passed through a career of the severest moral trial and proved himself victorious over evil. He endured the greatest sufferings without the slightest loss of confidence in God."8 "He did not know everything, else he could no more have been tempted than God could have been tempted. He grew in wisdom as he advanced in years. He learned by experience—by the things which he saw and which he suffered. He lived and wrought, as he told his disciples, by faith in God his Father, as we must all do."9

This is the Leader presented to us in the epistle to the Hebrews, the man Jesus, our Brother in trial, our Example in victory. He exercised faith as we exercise faith. He lived a life like ours, "full of temptations, privations, contradictions of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Expositor, First Series, Vol. III, p. 337. STEVENS, op. cit., p. 519.

<sup>9</sup> WALKER, The Spirit and the Incarnation, p. 322.

unbelief, ending with death on the cross; calling into play to the uttermost the virtue of fortitude, affording ample scope for the display at all costs of fidelity to duty and obedience to God, and, in the most desperate situations, of implicit filial trust in a heavenly Father. . . . How can any son of God . . . . doubt the value of a Leader so trained and equipped?" He was the very Prince and Perfecter of the exercise of faith in a human life.

That is the conception of the epistle to the Hebrews throughout: Jesus, one with us in disability and in sympathy, one with us in the conditions of conflict, a very Prince of faith, a Leader whom we can follow with perfect confidence because he has never known defeat, a Prince whose white plume will lead the great army of the heroes of faith to a continuous and eternal victory. In the second chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews we read that Jesus is not ashamed to call us brethren, saying: "I will declare thy name unto my brethren. And again, I will put my trust in him," Heb. 2:11-13. What does that second proof passage mean? It can mean only one thing: that the author of the epistle would represent Jesus as one with his brethren in the continuous exercise of faith, in living like them the life of faith. That was the motto inscribed upon his banner, "I will put my trust in God." That was the legend upon his Excalibur, "I have had faith in God." That was the ideal of every day's endeavor with him, "I will exercise faith in Him," Έγω ἔσομαι πεποιθώς ἐπ' αὐτῶ, Heb. 2:13.

Our Leader said: I will be made like unto my brethren in all things. Must they live a life of faith? Are their spiritual victories to be won only by faith? Then I will live by faith. I will win my victory by the exercise of unfailing faith in every extremity and in every trial. I will take for my earthly life the same conditions in which my brethren stand, the same flesh and blood of which they partake; and I will maintain without flinching the attitude and condition of creaturely dependence upon God. It shall be true of me as of my brother, the prophet or king of old, that, living or dying, "I will exercise faith in Him,

<sup>10</sup> BRUCE, The Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 103.

'Εγω ἔσομαι πεποιθως ἐπ' αὐτῷ. "Lo, I am come (in the roll of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God," Heb. 10:7.

He was always true to that resolution. His faithfulness was severely tested. His faith was terribly tried. He was tempted, and he suffered being tempted, Heb. 2:18; 4:15; 5:7. But in his suffering he learned obedience, 5:8. Through his suffering he was made perfect, 2:10, the perfect Prince of salvation, 2:10. because he was the Prince and Perfecter of faith, 12:2. He was the Righteous One, who lived by the exercise of faith, 10:38. With good courage he always said: "The Lord is my helper; I will not fear. What shall man do unto me?" 13:6. Consider the Apostle and High-Priest of our confession, even Jesus. He was faithful to Him that appointed him, 3:2. He was faithful in life and he was faithful in death. Consider the issue of his life and imitate his faith, 13:7. He was faithful in life and faithful in death; he will be faithful for evermore. Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today, yea and forever, 13:8. Look away from all inferior examples of faith and fix your eyes upon Jesus. He is the Prince and Perfect Example of the exercise of faith and of the victory won thereby. He hath sat down at the right hand of the throne of God, 12:2, 3.

If this is not the conception of the epistle to the Hebrews, we misread the epistle throughout. We believe that it is the conception of the epistle, as it is the conception of the entire New Testament. Jesus exercised faith. He was the Prince and Perfect Example of the exercise of it. We crown him  $\tau \dot{\rho} \nu \tau \dot{\eta} s \pi i \sigma \tau \epsilon \omega \dot{s} \dot{\rho} \chi \eta \dot{\rho} \dot{\nu} \nu \kappa \dot{a} \dot{\nu} \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \omega \tau \dot{\eta} \nu$ . We believe that, because he was these, he could become  $a i \tau \iota \sigma s \omega \tau \eta \rho i \sigma s$ , the author of salvation to all those who exercise like faith with him, who was the incarnate God, who is the exalted Christ.

# THE LATE PROFESSOR A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D.

II.16

By Professor George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland.

### III. DAVIDSON AS A TEACHER.

I now turn to the more easy task of some recollection and appreciation of his powers as a teacher. The generation of students to which I belonged reached Dr. Davidson's class-room before the crisis of the great controversy—that test which, though he took no public part in it, revealed to Scotland that he was the man who was doing more than any other to change her theological temper. Like the older men, therefore, we also knew him before the broader—it could not be a richer or a fonder—fame, which the Robertson Smith case brought him, had gathered round his figure. What was it, if I may attempt to answer a question beyond my ability, that we found in himself?

I have said that his power as a teacher was the bed-rock on which all the rest of his great reputation was founded. Certainly—apart from the tradition of his personal spell which had penetrated our undergraduate world—that was the first thing we felt. To pass into Dr. Davidson's class-room was to feel oneself on a floor of absolute security. The instinct of this awoke in us from the first, and every week confirmed it. We were in the care not only of a very keen intellect, but of one which was thoroughly master of its subject. Moreover, we felt its patience; its patience with everything but slovenliness. Dr. Davidson had to teach us the rudiments of the language. This was half his work with us; and the fact that he, now the leading authority in his subject, set himself to our instruction in the details of grammar and syntax, enhanced our grateful confidence to the pitch of enthusiasm. He did not betray to his students any sense of

<sup>16</sup> Concluded from the BIBLICAL WORLD for September, 1902, pp. 167-77.

sacrifice in doing this; but in later years he said more than once that it was a pity that a professor should have to occupy one of the two short sessions given to the Old Testament in New College with preliminaries to his real work of teaching the criticism and theology of the larger half of the church's Scriptures.

The sense of security which these things imparted was, if possible, further confirmed by the impression of Dr. Davidson's disinterestedness. As Dr. John Watson has justly said, he was "a scholar, without any regard to popularity and worldly aims"—and, one might add, merely ecclesiastical issues—"cleared from unreality and affectation—a loyal and undivided servant of learning."

The next item in this bare list of what we got from our master was the gift of historical vision. The prophets whom we studied with him had been to us but figures speaking in vacancy. Amos at Bethel, Hosea amid the rich scenery and thronging life of northern Israel, Isaiah of Jerusalem, sounded to us-what another was, but what they in reality certainly were not-voices crying in the wilderness. He changed all that. He waved his wand, and their world rose about them. He waved his wand-I choose the words. It was a magical change. By no purple painting did he kindle our imagination. One morning-I at least date from that day my awakening to the reality of the prophets - he said: "The prophet always spoke first to his own time." They had "times," then! From the illimitable futures over which, as we had been taught, the prophet's word roved in search of its vague end-from the interminable doctrinal controversies about the fulfilment of prophecy - our thoughts were drawn in to a definite bit of real life. We saw a man with a message to the men about him. These sprang up alive, eager, impassioned; and the whole tragedy of one at strife for God with his contemporaries stood out before us. There was no recapitulation of archæology, or history, or geography. Davidson created the prophet's world out of the prophet's soul. By a word, and sometimes by a still more significant gesture, he showed us what the prophet's eyes saw and what the prophet's heart felt round about himself, as he stood alone

with God's word in him, kindling every sense that he had, of body or of mind, to a glowing purity of vision. Of course, we were driven to read all we could find on the historical conditions of the periods in question. There was very much less than there is now. We had Strachey's Jewish History and Politics, 17 for its time a most useful book; and, above all, we had Ewald's History of Israel, the English translation of the prophetic period of which had just appeared. But, even from Ewald, we always came back to our own master. To our minds he, more clearly than any other, looked out of the prophet's eyes, and saw, not a historical reconstruction of the times, but just what the prophet saw, and what was needed to make us realize the prophet's message as an immediate word from God to the men of his own day. We remember best two lectures: one on Joel, whom Davidson at that time, with most critics, assigned to the eighth century, and one on Amos. 18 He contrasted the town and the country prophet. But this contrast was only the ground on which living men spoke to living men of the living God. It is very difficult to understand how this method of interpretation (now generally adopted), of expounding first of all what a prophet meant for his own day, can be conceived by anybody (as it sometimes is conceived) to be destructive of the ultimate religious worth of prophecy, or as rendering us incapable of feeling that those ancient voices spake also to ourselves on whom the ends of the world have come. For, under Davidson, we felt ourselves beside those to whom the prophet spoke. We were they. Our consciences were stirred, our faith was fed, our day was explained to us. Davidson stimulated our personal religion and inspired us to become preachers.

All this is on the line of the statement made previously, that Davidson's interest in the Old Testament was engrossed by its great personalities. It was from inside these that he surveyed and used the history. This was not for lack of expertness in other departments of Old Testament science. As everybody

<sup>17</sup> The second edition had recently been published.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> These lectures had already been published in *The Family Treasury*. They were first delivered in 1863.

knows, his mastery of the text and of its criticism was perfect. 19 His reviews, in the Theological Review, of all manner of books upon Semitic origins, episodes of Jewish history, the influence on Israel of other nations, Hebrew philology, and phases of Jewish thought, show that he kept abreast of the rapid increase of Old Testament literature. What is less known is his familiarity with archæology. Yet he has strewn proof of this along almost all his career, from his article in the British and Foreign Evangelical Review for 1871 on the Moabite stone and the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Jerusalem, to his Ezekiel, A few years ago I had occasion to discuss with him the book of Nehemiah on the topography of Jerusalem, and I was astonished at his mastery of the intricate data.20 On all such subjects -historical, archæological, geographical -he could have lectured as fully as many specialists. But he used only so much of his knowledge as was necessary to illustrate the experience or the message of the individual souls, the interpretation of whom excited his highest powers. As so many of his students have lately testified, his lectures on these were fascinating. We laid down our pens and ceased taking notes, to follow, with breathless interest, his account of the story of Jacob, or of Saul, or of Elijah and the prophets. Sometimes he made his studies of the latter more general. A great attraction to his mind was the prophetic psychology: what the visions of the prophets amounted to, and in what subjective states the possession of the Word of the Lord consisted. To such phenomena—whether normal or morbid—he returned again and again; and made excursions into the New Testament to examine the phases of "prophecy" described by Paul in the Corinthian church. It is an obscure atmosphere, and he of all men was least tempted to speak dogmatically about it. Yet one would fain hope that, among his papers, lectures on the subject may be found to complete the relevant fragments which he has already published.

Davidson's interest, however, was never exhausted by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> He was one of the most influential of the Old Testament Revision Committee which issued the English Revised Version.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2)</sup> Compare also his introduction to Nahum, in the Cambridge Bible for Schools.

subjective phenomena of Israel's religion. Their objective origin and goal was to him the fundamental and supreme duty of the expositor. He once said to me that "the prophets were terribly one-idea'd men"-the idea being that "Jehovah had done or was going to do something;" and he frequently asserted that the message of the whole Old Testament might be summed in one word—God. There any skepticism he had stopped short. In concluding a review of a field on which his temper was perhaps most at home—the book of Ecclesiastes—he uses the following words:21 "God and his moral rule, however obscure its incidence may be, and the moral life of man, are sure. When our Lord said, 'God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit,' he not only stated a necessity, he gave a definition. The human spirit is an ethical subject, and has fellowship with God, in whose image it is made. And this fellowship is independent of outward circumstances. But, though in moments of lofty faith the Hebrew saints attained to this feeling, nevertheless I am continually with thee, they could not sustain themselves in it. But he who has this fellowship no longer feels that God is outside of him, crushing his spirit with iron fetters; he is with God at the center of the universe, and can say to himself, 'All things are yours.' He has already all things under his feet." To Davidson the value of the Old Testament lay in its many exemplifications of this fellowship. Prophecy was a revelation; he really never treated it in any other aspect; and he was loyal to his belief in ways that few know. For instance, because he considered—whether rightly we need not now inquire—that the terms of Lord Gifford's will excluded revealed religion, he refused the honor of the Gifford lectureship at St. Andrews.22 He would not interpret the religion of Israel except as revealed. The divine pursuit in the Old Testament absorbed his heart. Past all formulas and con-

<sup>21</sup> Theological Review, Vol. III, p. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Lord Gifford, one of the judges of the supreme court in Scotland, left funds to endow a lectureship in natural theology at each of the four Scottish universities. The lectureship is given for two years, and is worth from £400 to £500 a year. Among others, Max Müller, Edward and John Caird, Pfleiderer, Fairbairn, Sayce, Professors Royce and James of Harvard, have been Gifford lecturers.

ventions, past dogmatic faith and experimental doubt, his aim was to reach the living God. And thither he led his students also. A more powerful guide to God few of us have known.

It must not be supposed, however, from what has been said of the personal foci on which his mind concentrated, that he made no attempt to collect and to grade the general doctrines of the Old Testament. His students in the seventies remember two courses of lectures—on "The Doctrine of Sin," in which he made some answer to the late Principal Tulloch; and on "The Teaching of the Old Testament upon the Future Life." Besides a few scattered paragraphs in his reviews, and his introduction to Ezekiel, there are his articles on "God in the Old Testament," and "Prophecy and Prophets," contributed to Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible; and we are waiting with expectation to know whether he left ready for the press any part of that Old Testament theology which he was preparing.

Another of our master's charms was his poetic feeling. That so good a schoolmaster, so exact a grammarian, had also the poet's mind is a surprising fact, considering the rarity of the combination. Strangers to him will understand how it added to our enthusiasm. Those who were under him from 1875 to 1877 had a peculiar opportunity for feeling it. In one of these years he organized a voluntary class in preparation for the Semitic fellowship, which Dr. John Mure opened to the Scottish graduates.23 The subjects set were Syriac, a number of Old Testament books in Hebrew, and Renan's General History of the Semitic Languages. Davidson took us for Syriac grammar and translation on Friday afternoons at his house, and from 9 to 10 two other days of the week on Canticles and Ecclesiastes. Apart from his lectures on Jacob, Saul, Elijah, and the prophets, I think we had him at his best in these poetical readings. The sun surely did not shine every morning of that Edinburgh winter, and Davidson's room lay in the shadow of other buildings. Yet I am unable to think of that room, when we eight or ten gathered to read Hebrew poetry with him, except as filled with sunshine. Those were the most radiant hours of all our

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> It was of the annual value of £100. It did much to extend Semitic studies in Scotland, and during its continuance was nearly always won by a pupil of Davidson.

student years; and to this day we cannot open certain pages of our Hebrew Bibles without that face above the desk being visible over them, and that sunshine falling athwart the verses. The uncouthness of the oriental language was for us, once for all, dissolved. We were in the heart of a great literature and a great life. To the interpretation of Canticles he brought not only the fragrance of the Syrian spring—I affirm I felt the magic as much in that Edinburgh class-room as afterward on Esdraelon itself—but the kindred airs of many other poetries, both of East and West; while he let his skepticism and his humor play full upon Ecclesiastes. "Our hearts remember how!"

I have not contributed to these pages anything of his humor.24 The recent notices of him have given the public a number of sayings more or less authentic; but such a "spate" of them utterly misrepresents the fine reserve and rare aptness with which he used his wit. Nothing, perhaps, was more significant of his mastery of his subject than the fashion in which these easy, unpremeditated, unexpected, never-repeated odds and ends of humor flashed out on us; while nothing more firmly proved the possession he had of our minds than our acceptance, without resentment or rankling, of his caustic and pitiless criticisms. He sometimes drew blood, but the wound was for good—clean, sharp, and washed with humor. We felt even a paradoxical sense of honor when some of our suggestions drew the same scorn as we saw him pour on certain theories identified with venerable names. His contributions to the Theological Review show how he never hesitated to turn his rapier, on just occasion, against the greatest of contemporary scholars; but on the printed page one misses the curious blush that flushed his face so often as he let his scorn break out in a lecture. Once this was over he was as before, the same shy scholar, eager to draw his pupils' opinions, and respectful to the views of the humblest interpreter of Scripture. You thought you had caught at last the real, imperious spirit of the man, but it escaped you. In this, too, he was elusive.

To return to ourselves — work that was honest, however poor,
<sup>24</sup> For instances see an article by the late Professor Bruce in the BIBLICAL
WORLD for 1896.

he never blamed; but no man dared in his class to be slovenly, or florid, or pretentious, more than once. His moral, like his intellectual, discipline was very severe.

Dr. Davidson was as great a preacher as he was a teacher. He preached seldom, and only in obscure little churches. Whenever we got the clue, we students went to hear him. It is said that he had not more than twelve or fifteen sermons—"Jacob," "Saul," "Elijah," "Psalm 51" and other psalms, "The Rich Young Ruler," "It is Finished," some leading verses in Romans (especially the argument in the ninth chapter), and some passages in Revelation. It is twenty years since I heard him, but I remember these texts and the general bearing and emphasis of each sermon. He read; very quietly, but occasionally grew impassioned, and then his voice rose shrill on the Aberdeen accent. To hear him was a profound religious experience. 25

His prayers, both in the pulpit and at his desk in opening his class, his students never can forget. They were expressed in very simple language, full of Bible phrases; but you felt that a great, meek, wistful soul was speaking with God, and he drew you near to God.

It is my fault if these recollections of Dr. Davidson's teaching do not make it clear why so many of his students so easily dropped the older views of prophecy and of the Bible in which they had been brought up. When the new way was opened to us by such a man, is it wonderful that our passage should be so easy; that so trenchant and so radiant a personal influence should exceed all the force of orthodox tradition; or that so religious an inspiration should render harmless to our faith the rupture with habits of mind formed by associations so many and so sacred? It was, in truth, one man against an ancient and an honored system; and the fact that his students so easily and so painlessly left the latter is the final proof of the greatness of his qualities, of the confidence he bred in us, of the strength of his intellectual discipline, of the charm and wealth of his instruction, of the soundness and infectiveness of his piety. He never attacked the older views. He had neither scorn nor impatience for them. He thought that others spoke "with unnecessary

<sup>35</sup> The sermon on "Jacob" is published in the Expositor for March, 1902.

force of past methods of handling and conceiving of Scripture as 'uncritical and irrational.'" He compared these methods with God's wise accommodation of his revelation to men, as in different ages and with different conditions they needed it and were able to receive it. "Has not," he asked, "the same wise providence that dispensed the revelation presided in some sense also over the interpretation of it? Do not the age and the method always harmonize? Would a former time have been able to 'receive' the methods of the present one?" A critic "may urge the living to gird up their loins to what he considers their new and great task, but he may silently leave the dead to bury their dead." <sup>26</sup>

#### IV. LAST YEARS.

There is little need to linger on the later years. Successive generations of students proved what their predecessors discovered. Nothing new emerged, except that they gave him the singularly infelicitous name of Rabbi. No borrowed title, this least of all, suited one who was so different from all his kind. Being just himself, his own simple name "Davidson" was, and is, the best to call him by. His fame and influence constantly increased. After the death of Robertson Smith, he was the one man who represented the Semitic scholarship of Scotland to other schools and countries. Honors fell thick upon him. He had been a member of the Old Testament Revision Committee. He was the first scholar outside the Church of England to contribute to the Cambridge Bible for Schools. No general work in his own department has been begun in Great Britain in recent years without his advice, and almost none carried out without his help or inspiration. Our greatest biblical scholars have almost unanimously looked up to him as one greater than themselves. I have heard (outside his own pupils) Driver, Sanday, Ryle, Gore, James Robertson, Flint, Hastie, Kennedy, Briggs, Francis Brown, and many others praise him in superlatives. Had he gone to America he would have taken you by storm; there was no man on this side whom Drummond, or Stalker, or myself, was oftener questioned about.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Theological Review, Vol. III, p. 63. Then follow some wise remarks on the relation of preaching to criticism.

Of university honors he had (besides the degrees of doctor of divinity and doctor of laws in his earlier years, and the offer of the Gifford lectureship already mentioned) the rank of doctor of letters in Cambridge University, and that of doctor of divinity from Glasgow at its fourth centenary in 1901, when he received it, to his great satisfaction, along with Briggs, Francis Brown, Cheyne, and Driver.

Age enhanced, if possible, his lovableness, but did not diminish the features already described as so paradoxical in his character. He remained to the end as solitary and as elusive. One might spend ten years asking him to preach: he was always coming and he never came. He avoided the moderator's chair to which his church called him. On one or two occasions on which he appeared in public he spoke as if all his professional work had been vain, except for the love it had gained him from his students. For years two of what would have been his greatest works were advertised, but he died without completing them. Nor did he grow more fixed about the things he had always held in solution. In one of his reviews he seems to hint that, if a scholar does grow more certain in his opinions, he becomes less able to stimulate the mind of others.27 He quotes with sympathy the views of more positive scholars, that the new criticism can be brought into the sphere of Christian thought and made serviceable to Christian life; that to do this is "to disarm the giant and dedicate his weapons to the house of our God; we may find, when a new pinch comes, that we can use his sword, and that 'there is none like it.'" 28 Yet he committed himself to few of the new positions and was always careful to present them to the minds of his students in equal balance with the old. These things were more or less indifferent to him. His heart was below them in fellowship with God through the revealed word; and this, won as we saw through struggle in his youth, and sustained through all the critical movement which coincided with his career as a teacher, was his chief influence and his highest example to his generation.

<sup>27</sup> Theological Review, Vol. III, p. 117.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 62, 63.

### A PROPOSAL FOR A GRADED BIBLE SCHOOL.

By REV. W. F. McMILLEN, Chicago.

A WIDESPREAD conviction that something more should be done to meet the recognized need of a graded course of study in Sunday schools led to the appointment of a committee by the Illinois State Association of Congregational Churches at its annual meeting in May, 1900. A year later, 1901, the committee submitted a sixteen-page printed report, incorporating as closely as was deemed practicable the principles and methods suggested by the new pedagogy, the new psychology, and the new Bible study. In applying these principles, two points of interest were kept prominently in mind: the selection of lessons adapted to pupils of different ages, thus giving a wider range of study; and the method of presenting the lessons.

The report, which is called "The Graded Bible School," provides for six grades or departments of the school:

- 1. The cradle roll.— For children below kindergarten age, not yet old enough to attend the school.
- 2. The kindergarten.— For children under seven years of age, who do not yet go to the public schools. Kindergarten methods are used in topical instruction, Bible object-lessons, and nature studies. For this work there are excellent books of lessons and of general direction.
- 3. The graded Bible school.— In the main school twelve grades are arranged, corresponding to those in the public school, containing children from seven to eighteen years of age, inclusive. These twelve grades are grouped into three departments:
- (1) Primary. First to fourth grades. Bible stories and Bible truths, preferably from the New Testament, in the first and second grades (pupils seven and eight years of age); and Bible stories from the Old Testament in the third and fourth grades (pupils nine and ten years of age). Special emphasis is laid upon committing to memory verses and passages of Scripture. Object-lessons and nature lessons are also to be used. Here also there are first-class series of lessons already available.

(2) Junior or Intermediate. Fifth to eighth grades. In the fifth and sixth grades (pupils eleven and twelve years of age) the life of Christ is to be studied connectedly. In the seventh and eighth grades (pupils thirteen and fourteen years of age) the history of the early Christian church and the life of Paul are to be studied. Christian biography and Christian missions are also introduced in these grades as supplemental work.

A New Testament is given to each pupil in this department to be used in his study. Of suitable text-books for these grades there is a lack. The Bible Study Union Lessons may be employed, and there are good books on the life of Christ and the life of Paul which can be used as text-books.

The school year of study is made to correspond with that of the public schools, beginning in the autumn and ending in the spring. The summer is given to special subjects of study, supplemental to that of the regular school year. This admits of the absences or vacation often necessary during the summer months, without breaking up the continuity of the year's instruction.

(3) Senior. Ninth to twelfth grades. This is the "decision period" of the young life, and the instruction is to be directed toward developing the individuality of the boy or girl into the religion and ethics of true Christian manhood and womanhood. The ninth and tenth grades (pupils fifteen and sixteen years of age) provide a connected study of Old Testament history and teaching. The eleventh grade (pupils seventeen years of age) provides a second study of the life of Christ and of the apostolic Christian history. The twelfth grade (pupils eighteen years of age) consists of a study of Christian beliefs and evidences, of the teachings of Jesus applied to everyday life, and of Christian duties and the church.

For these courses of study there are many good books which can be used as text-books, and not a few excellent series of lessons prepared.

- 4. The adult Bible classes.— The pupils should never be allowed to feel that the completion of the work in the graded Bible school means graduation, but only promotion to the Bible classes. In this department a large number of courses can be arranged, providing more extended and more thorough work in the history, teaching, and literature of the Bible, and also in church history, ethics, sociology, and theology.
  - 5. The normal course. The normal course is designed for those

graduates of the graded Bible school who desire to fit themselves to be teachers in the school. It consists of a review of the subjects taught in the graded Bible school, and of an adequate study of the principles and methods of religious pedagogy and Christian nurture.

6. The home-study department.— The aim of this department is to get parents to assist their children in studying their lessons, and to furnish instruction to those who are "shut in" so that they cannot attend the regular Bible school.

The committee which prepared the report just outlined was continued, and in May, 1902, a second report, also printed, was submitted and enthusiastically received. This was principally to show what progress had been made during the year. Brief reports of the work being done in ten schools showed a clear perception of the plan and a decided increase in interest. One of them says:

Our method is to grade the lesson to fit the uniform life of developing children, instead of grading the school to fit a uniform Scripture lesson, diluted for the youngest, condensed for the oldest, and perhaps fitted for neither. A peculiar feature in the working out of the plan is our system of supervising teachers. This consists in having a leader for each grade. We retain the small group in the class, and the teacher moves from grade to grade with the class. The leader directs the teachers and meets the classes together about once a month for review and pre-view. We aim to have the leader a trained teacher and a specialist in the department. The pastor's classes, previously held on a weekday, have been made part of the school system. At the period when decision for Christ should be made, the pastor finds himself in weekly contact with all the youth of the best age to be influenced. This has given him a larger number of boys of high-school age in his class than he has ever succeeded in reaching before. The plan may be introduced most effectively with a few classes at a time, preferably beginning with the younger. The children will not then have been paralyzed by the notion that the Sunday school is not a school. They will be more ready to study and recite. We have tables at which the scholars sit, thus permitting the use of pen and ink, for notebooks, map work, etc. Doing work stimulates work. Our aim is to train the pupils in the Bible method of successful living, and our prayer is that each one in the school will intelligently choose the only sure guide, our Lord Jesus Christ, before he completes the course.

The committee offered further suggestions concerning methods of teaching, courses of study, and available text-books.

It is to be regretted that the recent International Sunday School Convention (held at Denver last June) went no farther than to adopt

a beginners' course, which had been recommended at the Boston convention in 1896. The rejection of the proposal of lessons for advanced classes was a serious mistake; there is already large demand for such; indeed, advanced courses of study are already being used by many schools.

But, however important the lessons, the emphasis placed upon the need of training for Bible-school teachers along the lines of the best educational methods is of special importance, and strikes to the heart of the Sunday-school problem of today. The new study of the Bible has placed within the easy reach of the teachers quantities of historical, geographical, and literary material. This has given a new impetus to the historical method of study, and the need of Bible study was never greater. Facts and materials are so abundant; yet it is said that popular ignorance of the Bible is on the increase. This is, no doubt, due primarily to the neglect of Bible instruction in the home, the day school, and the college; but it is also due, in large measure, to the fact that the teaching in Sunday schools is not up to date when compared with the modern educational methods used in the day school. The loss is very great when we consider what might be gained if up-to-date principles were applied to the study of the Bible as of other subjects; all classes of minds must be reached and held to the Sunday school and to Bible study, and so to the Christian life. Such study will not hinder, but will rather render far more helpful and powerful, the work of the Holy Spirit in the minds and hearts of both young and old. The kingdom is growing, never faster or better than now. The Bible will again be taught in the public schools; and Bibleschool teachers will be specially trained for their work in the Sunday school.

It is very encouraging, and one of the most hopeful signs of our time, that in so many academies and colleges the study of the Bible is urged or required as a part of the regular course. This will greatly help Sunday-school instruction. Prominent educators connected with influential schools of learning, and men in other professions, have undertaken to advance this great movement, and the outlook is most encouraging for a mighty increase in the efficiency of Sunday-school teaching. The American Institute of Sacred Literature, directed by the Council of Seventy, has greatly quickened the popular study of the Bible, widened the sphere of knowledge, and improved Sunday-school teaching. And the BIBLICAL WORLD is exercising a conspicuous leadership in the increase of intelligence about the Bible, as well

as in securing a proper place for the Bible and for religion in the education of the young.

A number of the leading theological seminaries, both east and west, are planning courses of training for Sunday-school officers and teachers. Hartford Theological Seminary now awards the degree of bachelor of religious pedagogy to those who complete the prescribed course of study in this department. It is hoped that many theological students may avail themselves of these privileges, thus preparing themselves to become teachers of teachers when they enter the actual work of the ministry. If, as Bishop Potter says, we need a teaching church, even more do we need a teaching ministry, and we shall not have the former till we have the latter. We cannot have trained teachers in large numbers till ministers are trained teachers and are willing to devote a fair share of their time and scholarship to training members of their churches to teach. Some have proved, others are proving, that this is both practicable and useful. One constantly hears ministers of both large and small churches say that the Sunday school is the most hopeful work of the church today, that it offers the greatest opportunity for the spread of truth and righteousness. Therefore everything possible should be done to make it as efficient as possible.

# Notes and Opinions.

SHOULD THE BIBLE BE TAUGHT AS LITERATURE IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

This question has been recently brought forward in a prominent way by a statement made before the National Educational Association by President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, New York, and by a resolution passed by that body advocating such instruction. The resolution reads:

It is apparent that familiarity with the English Bible, as a masterpiece of literature, is rapidly decreasing among the pupils of our schools. This is the direct result of a conception which regards the Bible as a theological book merely, and thereby leads to its exclusion from the schools of some states as a subject of reading and study. We hope and ask for such a change of public sentiment in this regard as will permit and encourage the English Bible, now honored by name in many schools, laws, and state constitutions, to be read and studied as a literary work of the highest and purest type side by side with the poetry and prose which it has inspired and in large part formed.

The statement made by President Butler was a portion of his longer address on "Problems of Education." He said, with regard to the restoration of the Bible to the public schools:

I want to call attention to a phenomenon which is so universal that we do do not notice it—paradoxical though that sounds—but which, if it is permitted to continue, will one day produce most startling results in our life and civilization. I refer to the fact that, owing to a series of causes operating over a considerable period of years, knowledge of the English Bible is passing out of the life of the rising generation; and with the knowledge of the Bible there is fast disappearing any acquaintance with the religious element which has shaped our civilization from the beginning. Not long ago President Thwing of Western Reserve University printed in the Century Magazine the results of an ingenious inquiry on this subject which he carried on among college students. His purpose was not to find out what they knew about theology or what they believed about religion. His purpose was to find out what they knew about the greatest work of English literature. Those of you who have read that paper will remember the astounding results that this inquiry revealed.

In what I now say about the English Bible I want to make myself clearly understood. I want to make this fundamental distinction clear: I am not

now talking about instruction in religion, important as many conceive that to be; I am not now talking about instruction in theology, important as some feel that to be; I am merely laying down this thesis: the neglect of the English Bible incapacitates the rising generation to read and appreciate the masterpieces of English literature, from Chaucer to Browning, and it strikes out of their consciousness one element, and for centuries the controlling element, in the production of your civilization and mine. I hold this to be true even if there were not one person living in the United States who subscribed to a single article of any Christian creed. I am speaking now about literature and life, not about religion or theology.

Teachers all over this land are trying to teach Chaucer and Spencer and Shakespeare, Tennyson and Browning. How are they to understand men who refer to the Bible, that veritable treasure-house of literature, on every page, if they cannot take children to the source from which the supply is drawn? How are they to discuss and interpret the style of Ruskin, of Carlyle, of Emerson? How are they to teach the history of the heroes of our own independence, many of whom were religious in every fiber of their being, and whose work will continue to bear the stamp put upon it at the beginning, utterly regardless of what has become of religious faith in the interval? How is one to teach the truth as history reveals it unless he teaches the whole truth? And yet, see what has happened: The quarreling of religious sects, of churches, each claiming this book for its own and denying the truth of what other persons found in it, has brought about a state of affairs in which the English Bible, a fountain of English literature, has been practically stricken from the reading of the American people. I contend that we are not only on the point of impoverishing life and literature by this neglect of the English Bible, but we have already impoverished life and literature. I am not dealing with a problem that lies in the future; I am speaking of a condition which is at hand. We are impoverishing life and literature by striking out of our life and our reading one great monument of our literary line, the source from which much of what is best in later centuries is drawn, the inspiration upon which the best English style has been built.

One of the resolutions passed by the International Sunday School Convention, held in Denver last June, speaks more briefly, but in the same direction:

WHEREAS, The Bible is not only the inspired word of God, but also the world's greatest treasury of literature, and its reading is now excluded from most of the public schools of America;

Resolved, That the Executive Committee is instructed to appoint a standing committee, whose duty it shall be to consider what means should be taken in the various states and provinces to secure the reading of the Bible without comment in the public schools of our land.

Dr. Washington Gladden, in his latest collection of addresses entitled

Social Salvation (pp. 173 f., 177 f.), also speaks of the need of Bible instruction in the public schools, even when viewed merely from a literary standpoint:

Whatever the moral and spiritual value of the Bible may be, there can be no question that it occupies a place in our literature which makes a fair knowledge of it essential to every educated man, no matter what his faith may be. The Bible is woven through all our literature; names, words, phrases borrowed from it, allusions to it, are found on almost every page; without a good knowledge of it much of what he reads will be unintelligible to the reader; familiarity with the Bible lights up with beautiful significance many a passage which would otherwise be enigmatical. There is no book in our language which has been used in this way one-hundredth part as much as has the Bible: and for the purposes of general intelligence it is therefore one hundred times as necessary that one should know the Bible as that he should any other book. This is the fact upon which educators ought to insist, I think that they are beginning to make their voices heard. We have now upon the stage a generation which has grown up without any instruction in the Bible in the public schools, and the depth and breadth of popular ignorance respecting the Bible is something astonishing.

It appears to me that something of this nature may yet be hoped for in connection with our public education, and that the subject is one which the Christian ministry ought to keep in sight. Whatever is done must be done with great prudence, and it must be evident that the interests in view are not those of dogmatism, but rather of general intelligence. We study Homer, the Bible of the old pagan Greeks, in our schools, with no objection; doubtless if anyone wanted to study the Zendavesta, the religious book of the old Persians, or the Niebelungenlied, the religious book of the Scandinavians, that would be thought innocent, if not laudable; but the proposition to study our own Bible, which, from every point of view - as literature, as history, as philosophy, as moral teaching - is infinitely more important than any or all of these, seems to fill the minds of some people with vague alarms. There seems to be no reason in this, and I hope that by and by we shall get ashamed of it, and bring the Bible back into our schools. To make it the basis of doctrinal teaching would be, of course, impossible; but we might have the occasional reverent reading of it; and we might, at least, teach the pupils to discern the beauty of its poetry and the glory of its eloquence and the uplifting power of its prophetic ideals.

## Whork and Workers.

THE museum and library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem have been removed from the rooms opposite the Tower of David to the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been provided for this purpose by the English bishop, Rev. Dr. Blyth.

THE pastor of the Westminster Church of Seattle, Wash., the Rev. Hugh W. Gilchrist, has been elected to the New Testament professorship at the San Francisco Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), to succeed Dr. J. H. Kerr, who recently became publication secretary of the American Tract Society at New York.

The chair of Hebrew language and literature at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., recently made vacant by the resignation of Professor Charles Horswell, Ph.D., is to be occupied by Rev. F. P. Eislen, thirty years of age, who has been called from the pastorate of the Fifth Street Methodist Church of Philadelphia.

PROFESSOR GEORGE A. BARTON, Ph.D., of the chair of biblical literature and Semitic languages at Bryn Mawr College, has been appointed director of the American School of Oriental Research for the year 1902-3, and is now upon the ground. He will have three young men pursuing study under him during the winter.

Two Local reports at Jerusalem concerning "Solomon's Quarries" were recently shown to be without foundation by Messrs. Macalister and Hornstein. The first report alleged that there was a deflection of the compass inside the cave; the second report was that an unexplored passage of great length led off from the cave at a certain point.

A GREEK inscription, now in the possession of Dr. Wright, of Nablûs, and dating from about the second century A. D., records the burial-place of a Christian woman as follows:

The private tomb of the blessed Doxasia, daughter of Dora and Megalê, whose lives have closed. And [I adjure] the God of these bones, and the mystery of death, and the hour of judgment, that no one here tear either relic or bone out of me.

THE large relief map of Palestine, prepared some years ago by the acting secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Mr. George Arm-

strong, has performed a most useful service, but is so expensive as to be beyond the reach of most Bible students. In order to give this important map a wider circulation, Mr. Armstrong has now prepared a similar map on a scale of one-half the former size. This will be framed and fully colored, and is promised at a moderate price.

THE American Standard Edition of the Revised Bible (Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York) is now published in a smaller form (bourgeois type) at \$1. In leather binding and on rice paper the prices range up to \$7. The fact that the American Edition has received the almost unanimous approval of all authorities for popular use makes it desirable that the work should be issued in small and cheap form, so that it may be within the reach of all. Then we should have the New Testament printed separately at a nominal price, as is now the case with the Authorized Version and the British Revised Version.

Two important chairs at the Pacific Theological Seminary (Congregationalist) at Oakland, Calif., have recently been filled. Dr. T. Cowden Laughlin has been made professor of New Testament Greek and exegesis. He is thirty-three years of age and a graduate of Princeton College and Seminary, where for a time he has been instructor in biblical literature. The chair of Old Testament language and literature has been given to Professor William Frederic Bade, who is thirty-one years of age. For six years past he has occupied the chair of Hebrew literature and introduction at the Moravian College and Theological Seminary in Bethlehem, Pa.

The action of the recent International Sunday School Convention in recommending the use of the American Standard Edition of the Revised Version, and urging that it be procurable through the American Bible Society, is greatly to be commended. The resolution adopted by the convention reads as follows:

WHEREAS, The leading American students of the Bible and publishers of Sunday-school lesson helps favor the use of the American Standard Edition of the Revised Bible; and

WHEREAS, The British and Foreign Bible Society has recently taken action to supply the English Revision of the Bible to those of its patrons who desire it; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention memorialize the American Bible Society to take such action as will enable its patrons to secure the American Revised Bible from that society, if they so desire.

ONE of the needs of the present day is the creation of libraries of theological literature which can become available for the use of the

great mass of ministers whose salaries do not permit them to purchase the expensive array of new books in the theological field. These books, however, it is important for the minister to know, and how he can secure them for his use is the problem to be worked out. A beginning in this direction has been made by the General Theological Library of Boston, which was established in 1860, but of recent years has largely increased the number of its books and its facilities for their use. This library is located at 53 Mt. Vernon street, Boston, and contains some twenty thousand volumes. It is open to the use of members, of all clergymen, and of visiting strangers. It is furnishing, therefore, a local opportunity of great value. But its usefulness has been largely increased by a plan established last year by the directors, which provides that books may be drawn from this Boston library through local libraries in any outside New England towns, the local libraries being made distributing branches. Any minister in these towns can secure books from the library by mail for the simple cost of the postage necessary to send and return the books. And it is also arranged that, in case a clergyman has access to no public library, he may secure books personally direct from the Boston library. As a result, therefore, from now on there will be few in New England who will be without the opportunity to read the best books upon theology as they appear. It is also hoped that low rates of postage will be secured in the near future on library exchange, which will facilitate the circulation of the books. There can be no question that a great field lies before the libraries already established, and also before libraries which in the future may be established, for the carrying out of this kind of work. The ministers of the United States will appreciate the opportunity which is thus placed before them, and will avail themselves of it in greatly increasing numbers.

## Book Reviews.

The Study of Religion. By Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania. [Contemporary Science series.] New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. 451. \$1.50.

This volume will be found refreshing and instructive by everyone interested in the study of religion. It has the feel of having been prepared by a student entirely conversant with the ins and outs of the various attempts during the last century to interpret religion as a world-phenomenon, and warmly in touch with recent developments in the study of religion as embodied in books, university and college courses, and museums. The author has the happy faculty of setting forth the picture in attractive style and in good perspective. There is sufficient organization to save the reader much detail that might have been burdensome in covering such a wide field. The book is not belabored with scholastic paraphernalia, yet shows on every page the result of careful study.

The volume consists of three parts—"General Aspects," "Special Aspects," and "Practical Aspects." Part'I treats of the history of the study of religion, and contains a historical summary, together with a constructive statement, of the various attempts at classification, definition, and derivation of religion. The history of the study of religion is a concise résumé of the points of view of writers, not only recent and well known, like Max Müller, Tiele, Réville, and the philosophers from Herder and Lessing to Hegel and Pfleiderer, but also some English and French historians of religion of a century ago, whose researches, important as they have been, are likely to be unknown or forgotten. After reviewing critically, yet sympathetically, the score or more of schemes of classification of religions, the author, while recognizing the artificiality of any clean-cut divisions, proposes a fourfold classification corresponding to four stages of culture: (1) religions of savages, (2) religions of primitive culture, (3) religions of advanced culture, (4) religions which emphasize as an ideal the coextensiveness of religion with life.

The method of arriving at a constructive statement of the character and definition of religion is by analysis of various points of view and setting one philosophy against another, rather than through the examination of the facts of religion. One feels, however, in the warmth of Professor Jastrow's hold on the subject, the effect of his minute study into the actual history of religions. One feels, too, the strong influence upon the author's conceptions of the conventional school of the historians and philologists who have contributed to the study of religion. In regard to the origin of religion the author's analysis leads him into closer agreement with Max Müller than with any other writer. "Briefly put, then, the origin of religion, so far as historical study can solve the problem, is to be sought in the bringing into play of man's power to obtain a perception of the Infinite through the impression which the multitudinous phenomena of the universe as a whole make upon him."

The second part of the volume further defines the character and place of religion by considering its relation to ethics, philosophy, mythology, psychology, history, and culture. The chief object in this discussion is, however, not the further definition of religion, but the determination of "the part proper to each of these in a sound application of the historical method."

Not less important and original than the first and second parts is the last division of the volume, which takes up the practical aspect of the study of religion. This is destined to render a valuable service to the study of religion, setting forth, as it does, with clearness and persuasion the necessary equipment of the student in the way of sympathy with the facts of religion, thoroughness, technique of the historical method, and right perspective of the field. It will help to discredit much of the work of certain anthropologists and sociologists who have generalized from insufficient data of historians of the older school, and of travelers and missionaries with biased opinions; it will also tend to establish the study of religion on a scientific basis. Written, as it is, when the interest in the study of religion is rapidly increasing; when it is pursued from so many standpoints - sociological, historical, philosophical, and psychological; when it is beginning to win respect and gain dignity through the use of right methods, the volume is a timely one, and is sure to exert a steadying influence on the study of religion throughout.

The status of the study of religion in colleges and universities, the outline of a program for a college course, the description of museums, and the classified bibliography will all be found valuable.

While having a wide scope, the volume has a distinct point of view

that gives it unity—the historical standpoint. Recognizing religion as a growing thing with a history, the author claims that the only right attitude of the student is to seek to follow the actual course of its development. "I take my stand," he says, "as an advocate of the historical method in the study of religion as the conditio sine qua non for any results of enduring character, no matter what the particular aspect of religion it be that engages our attention." The philosophy and the psychology of religion have validity only as based upon the history of religion. Their place in the curriculum is in the seminary and the university rather than in the college, or even after the university as individual research by mature scholars.

The average reader will find in this general attitude, which permeates the entire volume, a bit of personal bias to which he will take exception —a bias perfectly natural in one whose chief work has been historical. A fairer attitude would be to assume that the various aspects of the study - historical, philosophical, and psychological must keep pace with and strengthen each other. Each within certain limits can establish and has established results of permanent value. The chief value of the historical method is that it can break through isolated facts and see things in relationship. Through these relationships it finds laws. It interprets facts and so "understands" them. The philosophy and psychology of religion likewise busy themselves with grouping, interrelating, and interpreting facts, though with slightly different technique. It matters little what perspective one has of the many-sided facts of experience, and one could hardly admit that the historians have a larger screen on which to project their data than the psychologist; although, with the already timewise arrangement of facts, a superficial glance would make it seem so.

The fascinating character of the growth process when viewed in the large, while widening our world and giving a tremendously greater hold on reality, has had its accompanying evils. It has caused an undue bias among historians, as well as evolutionists, for their own particular way of approaching the facts of experience. A result more serious is that there has been fostered a false reliance on the developmental series as constituting in itself an efficient and sole instrument for explaining things. The biologists have happily about outgrown their fallacy, and admit that evolution does not explain, but describes. The fallacy of the historians is of a different kind, but equally insidious, and apparently little appreciated. They assume that the objective, "scientific" handling of facts can translate thought movements; while,

on the contrary, the reading of thought history is essentially a matter of psychological interpretation, which should have the combined skill of both historian and psychologist at every point before the real facts are known or their true reading can be given. One finds the volume before us permeated with the idea, and in many respects weakened by it, that history is a sort of substance existing free in nature—a Ding an sich which can of itself show what have been the events and movements of religious history.

That is the attitude which makes it impossible for Dr. Jastrow to make a real advance, except in simplicity and cogency of statement, over the conventional historical treatment of the origin, definition, and meaning of religion. He determines the essential nature of religion in terms of the "feeling of dependence" of Schleiermacher, plus certain amplifications (though not the most essential ones) of philosophers and historical students of religion since his time. "Religion may be defined," the author says, "as the natural belief in a Power or Powers beyond our control and upon whom we feel ourselves dependent; which belief and feeling of dependence prompt (1) to organization, (2) to specific acts, and (3) to the regulation of conduct with a view to establishing favorable relations between ourselves and the Power or Powers in question." This is the formulation of the nature of religion made when philosophy was just beginning to feel its way into a relation with science, and when an evolutionary psychology did not exist. It is essentially the formulation that would doubtless be kept, were the mistaken reverence for the self-sufficiency of the historical method shared by all, and did not the fuller grasp of the content of religion which the psychology of religion reaches, cause a new reading of the meaning of the facts of its history. The psychology of religion has been putting us in a position to see that such a definition, while giving a true description of the religious impulse as far as it goes, leaves out of consideration one of the great sources—if not the central spring of the impulse in question.

Religion is essentially a means of self-expression. It has for its background a large number of instinctive endowments—fear, love, self-preservation, self-enlargement, sociality, etc.—out of which, by a process which Ribot and James have described, the religious instinct has grown, and by which it is fed. Chief among these instincts is, doubtless, self-expression, the outgrowth of the primal life-phenomenon—a set of physiological reactions—which by evolution, describable in the various phases of its development in terms of Spencer's "surplus

energy," Baldwin's "excess of discharge," and Groos's "pleasure in being a cause," becomes the great source of the various forms of religious expression. In this respect it is analogous, as regards origin of content, to the art impulse.

Without this consideration, many of the essential characters of religion, while describable in the conventional way, must remain, as heretofore, inadequately understood. In this point of view one appreciates the singing, music, ritual, genuflections, shouting, emotionalism, phallicism, religious dances, propagandism, mysticism, the building of theologies, and the like, all of which, in higher or lower forms, are means essentially of religious activity; and as avenues of spiritual expression they have their reason for being. To define religion in terms of a belief in and sense of dependence on a higher Power or Powers is the outgrowth of a rational psychology which does not take cognizance of what experimental psychology has shown to be true that beliefs and the higher rational emotions are epiphenomena instead of fundamental mental processes, and that the God-idea or beliefs of any kind are of relatively minor consideration to the individual in his religious growth. One can describe it all in terms of theistic conceptions and feelings of relation, but that is not the most fundamental thing. More vital is the point of view of Marshall in his Instinct and Reason. He reaches his definition of religion as a "regulative instinct" almost solely through a study of biological and social evolution, and derives the God-idea as a by-product.

A recognition of religion as a means of self-expression would have led Dr. Jastrow to sympathize with Hegel's philosophical construction of religion as in essence freedom and liberty, or with the still fuller definition of it given by Pfleiderer, Biedermann, and Lipsius, in terms of freedom and dependence—important developments which the author seems to have overlooked.

But recent psychology furnishes the basis for appreciating the significance of these improvements upon the Schleiermacher definition. Instead of being at bottom a belief in or sense of dependence upon a higher Power or Powers, religion is spontaneous rationalized will, which seeks adequate objects to which to attach itself and proper means through which it may find expression. The Power or Powers come into religion as incidents, although, to be sure, indispensable ones. They result in part from man's "faculty of faith" and "perception of the Infinite," in part from his instinct of sociality, as Guyau has pointed out, by which the heavens are peopled by personalities; but

more especially because the only fitting objects to which the religious instinct may attach itself are found in the personal constructs of the relatively changeless realm of supersensuous experience.

Let it be clear that stress is not laid on this point because the question of the origin and definition of religion is the gist of the volume. The emphasis upon it is to show the fallacy in a fundamental conception of the work, and one upon which the author is insistent, that the historical method is alone the proper means of approach to the study of religion. This point of view brings into the book other distortions than the one specifically examined above, of which it is a fitting illustration. The historical method is essentially a method — an instrument, and a most valuable one. But the interpretation of history is a psychological process, and it is not a different process when directed, checked, and stimulated by facts which are historical, than when dealing with those which are biological or physiological or sociological. Granting that the historical method is able to bring to light an indefinite number of facts of religion, they give no hint of the course of the development of religion. The essential thing is to control them so that they may be manipulated and questioned. Even the use of original documents, together with the help of philology, has no power of itself to "penetrate to the core of religion;" and one is surprised to find the author sharing in Max Müller's superstition for language as the infallible record of the thought life of a people, after Müller's ample illustration of the fact that the philologist, except in so far as he is equipped with critical insight, is as apt to interpret the changes and shades of meaning wrongly as rightly. Professor Kittredge, in the June number of Harper's Monthly, has shown clearly the futility of the notion of etymology "as the science of true meanings." It will be fortunate for the growth of science when we come to see that all departments of knowledge must grow together, and that no one of them can fairly be regarded as the sole and absolutely necessary prerequisite for the others.

Let it be clear, too, that the error of this fundamental assumption to which we have taken exception does not mar the value of the volume in most respects. It is beyond question a work of unusual comprehensiveness, unity, clearness, and erudition—a refreshing and timely volume.

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LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY, Palo Alto, Calif. A Short History of the Hebrews to the Roman Period. By Rev. R. L. Ottley. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. ix + 324. \$1.25.

The above work is intended to serve as a text-book for students of Hebrew history. The more important results of modern historical science as applied to the documents of the Old Testament are accepted and made the basis of the work. The point of view is similar to that of Kittel and other scholars of the mediating school; for example, the personality of the patriarchs Abraham and Jacob is held to, but the sons of Jacob are treated as tribal personifications. No allusion is made to Winckler's Mucri, nor to the reconstruction of post-exilic history offered by Kosters, Cheyne, and others. The tone of the work is dogmatic rather than such as to encourage and stimulate investigation. The author is not always sufficiently rigorous and consistent in historical method; in the story of the wilderness wanderings and the events at Sinai, for instance, no attempt is made to distinguish between the historical and the legendary. The treatment of the miraculous element in the narrative is somewhat arbitrary, the accounts being sometimes accepted at their face value, as, e.g., in the case of the story of the crossing of the Jordan (p. 84); while at other times the miraculous features are discredited and explained away, as, e. g., in the case of the falling of the walls of Jericho (p. 85). Reference should be made on p. 169 to Marti's proposed rendering of l. 8 of the Moabite stone which removes the discrepancy as to dates that exists between this monument and 2 Kings 1:1 on the basis of the usual rendering. To the list of books on pp. 313 f. the works of McCurdy and Kent should certainly be added.

As an attempt to furnish younger students with a positive, constructive statement of "the actual course of Hebrew history, somewhat more consistent with the present state of our knowledge than the text-books now in use" (p. vii), the book is worthy of much praise and may be numbered among the two or three books of this class that are reasonably safe guides. The excellent maps which illustrate the text are an admirable feature, as are also the appendices on "The Documentary Sources of the Narrative" and "Hebrew Legislation."

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Encyclopædia Biblica, Vol. I, col. 792, note.

## Current Literature.

[Books marked with an asterisk (\*) will be reviewed in subsequent issues.]

#### OLD TESTAMENT.

#### BOOKS.

\*HARPER, ANDREW. The Song of Solomon. [Cambridge Bible.] New York:
The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 147. \$0.50, net.

BOEHMER, JULIUS. Der alttestamentliche Unterbau des Reiches Gottes. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 236. M. 4.50.

TORGE, PAUL. Aschera und Astarte. Ein Beitrag zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 60. M. 2.

#### ARTICLES.

SAYCE, A. H. The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions. Expository Times, August, 1902, pp. 490-92.

BROOKE, A. E., AND McLean, N. 'The Forthcoming Cambridge Septuagint.

Journal of Theological Studies, July, 1902, pp. 601-21.

It was announced, in connection with the publication of Dr. Swete's manual edition of the Old Testament in Greek (1887-94), that a large edition of the same work, containing a complete text-critical apparatus for the Septuagint, was in course of preparation. This extensive work is in the hands of the two Cambridge scholars here mentioned, Messrs. Brooke and McLean, who now state that they hope to begin within a few months the printing of these important volumes. They therefore print here two specimens of text and apparatus, the passages being Gen. 48: 1-9 and Judg. 5:23-6:24, with the request that they may receive from students of the Septuagint as many criticisms and suggestions as possible for the perfection of the work.

CURTISS, S. I. Discoveries of a Vicarious Element in Primitive Semitic Sacrifice. Expositor, August, 1902, pp. 128-34.

Professor Curtiss, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, believes that he has found among the people of Palestine today such remains of the primitive Semitic religion as disprove W. Robertson Smith's hypothesis that the earliest form of sacrifice was the "sacrificial meal." Rather, the vicarious element in sacrifice goes back to the earliest times. It is certain from a great number of examples gathered from all parts of the country that slaughtering was the original form of sacrifice, and that the meal which follows is merely incidental. It is also clear that the life taken is more or less in place of another: the victim dies that man or animal may live; this idea seems to run through every kind of sacrifice where animal life is surrendered. Nor is it less certain that the Bedouins have received from the cradle of the Semitic race the custom of shedding substitute blood; nor is it less true that such vicarious sacrifices, which are counter to the spirit of Christianity and Islam, have had power, in connection with other primitive institutions, to maintain themselves to the present time.

OESTERLEY, W. O. E. The Development of Monotheism in Israel. Expositor, August, 1902, pp. 98-105.

The history of monotheism, as portraved in the Old Testament, shows very distinctly that the belief in One God was the ultimate outcome of an evolutionary process. This fact is now almost universally recognized, the question under discussion being as to who first grasped the idea and promulgated it. Some would say, Abraham; but the picture of Abraham as presented in the Old Testament is not sufficiently definite to permit of the theory that he was the originator of such a stupendous advance in the history of religion as is involved in monotheism. Others would say, Moses; but he was rather the leader and practical legislator of the nation, and evidence is wanting as to any high monotheistic ideas which could be attributed to him. At the same time, in Moses we reach a stage in that evolutionary process which ultimately resulted in pure monotheism; he played an important part in the evolution of religion. But it was not until the eighth century B. C., the period of the great "literary" prophets - Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah - that monotheism in the highest and truest sense became self-conscious and articulate in Israel. A great gulf divides Amos's conception of Jahwe from that of his predecessors, marking off a new era in men's thought of God, and constituting Amos one of the divinely chosen instruments of the progressive revelation of God to man.

#### NEW TESTAMENT.

#### BOOKS.

- \*Feine, Paul. Jesus Christus und Paulus. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 312. M. 7.
- \*Heinrici, C. F. G. Das Urchristentum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. Pp. 143. M. 3.
- HORT, A. F. The Gospel according to St. Mark. The Greek Text, edited with Introduction and Notes for the Use of Schools. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 202. \$0.75, net.
- Brandes, F. H. Unser Herr Jesus Christus. I: Seine Person. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1892. Pp. 117. M. 2.40.
- LAKE, K. Codex 1 of the Gospels, and its Allies. [Texts and Studies, VII, 3.] Cambridge: University Press, 1902. Pp. 277. 7s. 6d.

#### ARTICLES.

- GARVIE, A. E. Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus. VII: The Surrender of Home. Expositor, August, 1902, pp. 106-16.
- Bousset, W. Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien. Theologische Rundschau, August, 1902, pp. 307-16.
- Kennedy, H. A. A. Review of Wrede's "Das Messiasgeheimniss in den Evangelien." Critical Review, July, 1902, pp. 339-44.
- CÖLLE, R. Zur Exegese und zur homiletischen Verwertung des Gleichnisses vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus (Lk. 16: 19-31). Theologische Studien und Kritiken, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 652-65.

NESTLE, EB. Matt. 27:51 und Parallelen; Der ungenähte Rock Jesu und der bunte Rock Josefs; Die unverfälschte köstliche Narde; Bethesda. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 167-72.

HORN, P. Der Kampf um die leibliche Auferstehung des Herrn (Schluss). Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, Heft 7, 1902, pp. 546-65.

ADENEY, W. F. Did St. John Ever Live at Ephesus? London Quarterly Review, July, 1902, pp. 75-96.

This question is the first of the whole Johannine problem, for if the apostle John never lived at Ephesus, he cannot have been the author of any of the New Testament books which bear his name, since they had their origin in Asia Minor. Dr. Adeney sets himself to refute the arguments against the Ephesian residence of John which have lately been advanced by Schmiedel, Moffatt, and Bacon. The refutation consists mainly of putting another interpretation upon the patristic testimony, and upon the slight indications of the New Testament upon the subject. He acknowledges much strength in the view he is opposing, but thinks there is greater probability in his reading of the facts; and here he finds himself in the company of the great majority of scholars.

HORT, The late F. J. A. Εὐχαριστία, εὐχαριστεῖν. Journal of Theological Studies, July, 1902, pp. 594-8.

MOULTON, J. H. "It Is His Angel." Journal of Theological Studies, July, 1902, pp. 514-27.

Regarding this statement about Peter in Acts 12:15, the writer thinks that the term "angel" has here a different meaning from that which it commonly bears. Instead of signifying, as usually, a heavenly messenger who has assumed human form, the angel of this passage—and of Matt. 18:10, he also thinks—is a representative of the human being, dwelling in the heavenly world. These "representative angels" are spiritual counterparts of human individuals or communities, dwelling in heaven, but subject to changes depending upon the good or evil behavior of their complementary beings on earth. This idea came into Judaism from Parsism, where the Zoroastrian Fravashis supply exactly the original hint for this later Jewish conception.

BERNARD, T. D. Caesarea: An Expository Study of Acts, chap. 10. Expository Times, August, September, 1902, pp. 487-90, 558-61.

RAMSAY, W. M. St. Paul. Expositor, August, 1902, pp. 81-92.

That Paul was in many ways the ablest and the greatest, the most creative mind, the boldest originator, the most skilful organizer and administrator, the most impressive and outstanding personage in the whole apostolic circle, is recognized by most people. But it is true also that there is a fascination of Paul's personality; he lies closer to the heart of the great mass of readers than any other apostle; and the reason for this is that he impresses us as the most purely and intensely human of them all. He is the typical, the representative man, who attains in moments of higher vision and inspiration to behold the truth, to commune with the divine nature; he has, too, far more of such visions than other men. But one feels that with Paul the vision lasted no long time, and then he was once more on the level of humanity. Throughout his life we have to study Paul in this spirit. He sees like a man. He sees one

side at a time. He emphasizes that—not indeed more than it deserves, but in a way that provokes misconception, because he expresses one side of the case, and leaves the audience to catch his meaning, to sympathize with his point of view, to supply for themselves the qualifications and the conditions and the reservations which are necessary in the concrete facts of actual life. He manifests a combination of qualities which made him representative of human nature at its best; intensely human in his undeniable faults, he shows a real nobility and loftiness of spirit in which every man recognizes his own best self.

- WALKER, DAWSON. The South-Galatian Theory. Expository Times, August, 1902, pp. 511-14.
- GREGG, J. A. F. The Commentary of Origen upon the Epistle to the Ephesians. Part III: Eph. 4:27—6:24. *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1902, pp. 554-76.
- BATE, H. N. Review of Bigg's "Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude." *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1902, pp. 622-8.
- FALCONER, R. A. Is Second Peter a Genuine Epistle to the Churches of Samaria? *Expositor*, June, July, August, September, 1902, pp. 459-72, 47-56, 117-27, 218-27.

The writer is of the opinion that the canonical Second Epistle of Peter was written by the apostle Peter, through an "interpreter" from Antioch, shortly before he went to Rome, and to the churches of Samaria.

#### RELATED SUBJECTS.

#### BOOKS.

- STRONG, T. B. Historical Christianity the Religion of Human Life. London: Frowde, 1902. Pp. 98. 1s. 6d., net.
- \*Coit, Stanton. The Message of Man: A Book of Ethical Scriptures. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 340. \$0.75.
- DICKINSON, EDWARD. Music in the History of the Western Church. With an Introduction on Religious Music among Primitive and Ancient Peoples. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. 426. \$2.50, net.
- \*FAIRBAIRN, A. M. The Philosophy of the Christian Religion. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 583. \$3.50, net.
- COBB, SANFORD H. The Rise of Religious Liberty in America. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 541. \$4, net.

#### ARTICLES.

LOCKYER, T. F. The Bible in English. London Quarterly Review, July, 1902, pp. 119-39.

In the course of this article the writer praises the American Standard Edition of the Revised Version (Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York) by saying that it "probably fulfils the various conditions that must be realized in the ideal English Bible more nearly than any other existing work. It is a notable work, destined to become the accepted Bible of the majority of the Anglo-Saxon race; and we are tempted to wish

that it might be adopted as the one final Revised Version (for this century at least) of the English speaking world." This is much the best that has been said in Great Britain about our American Committee's edition, and will be well appreciated here.

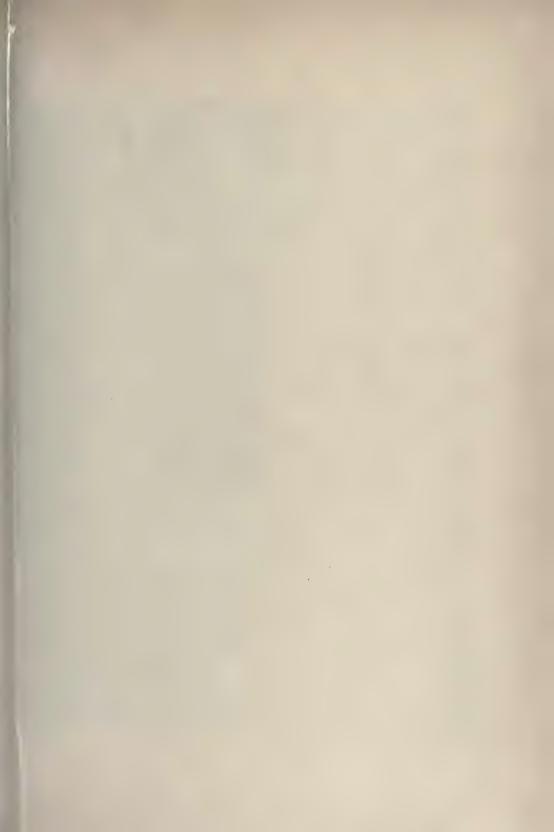
- MACALISTER, R. A. S. The History and Site of Gezer. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, July, 1902, pp. 227-32. IDEM, Reports on Tombs, Inscriptions, Rock-Cuttings, etc. Ibid., pp. 232-49.
- GLAISHER, JAMES. Results of Meteorological Observations Taken at Jerusalem in the Year 1901. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, July, 1902, pp. 250-55. IDEM, Results of Meteorological Observations Taken at Tiberias in the Year 1901. Ibid., pp. 255-60.
- GANNEAU, CLERMONT. Archæological and Epigraphic Notes on Palestine. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, July, 1902, pp. 260-82.
- SCHUMACHER, G. Recent Discoveries Near Galilee. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, July, 1902, pp. 301-4.

An interesting account of the important excavations at *Khirbet* and *Tell Ta'annek* now being carried on by Professor Sellin, of the University of Vienna.

BURKITT, F. C. The Date of Codex Bezae. Journal of Theological Studies, July, 1902, pp. 501-14.

Since Dr. Scrivener asserted it, Codex Bezae has been assigned by all scholars to the sixth century, almost without argument. But Mr. Burkitt, of the University of Cambridge, has arrived at the conclusion that it belongs to the fifth century. It was a Greek manuscript, accompanied by a Latin translation, and was for the use of some community in the West, where Latin was the vernacular, but the New Testament was read—at least sometimes in public—in the original Greek.

- GIBSON, M. D. Four Remarkable Sinai Manuscripts. Expository Times, August, 1902, pp. 509-11.
- Burn, A. E. The Textus Receptus of the Apostles' Creed. Journal of Theological Studies, July, 1902, pp. 481-500.
- MACKINTOSH, H. R. Lotze's Philosophy, and Its Theological Influence. Critical Review, July, 1902, pp. 291–306.
- SIMON, D. W. Review of Kaftan's "Dogmatik." Critical Review, July, 1902, pp. 310-17.
- Somerville, David. Review of Fairbairn's "Philosophy of the Christian Religion." Critical Review, July, 1902, pp. 318-26.
- SALMOND, S. D. F. The Immortality of the Soul, and the Scripture Doctrine of the Last Things. London Quarterly Review, July, 1902, pp. 140-60.
- FINDLAY, G. G. The Better Education of the Ministry. London Quarterly Review, July, 1902, pp. 97-118.
- MARWICK, WILLIAM. Magic and Religion. Expository Times, August, 1902, pp. 495-9.
- URQUHART, F. F. The Church of France in the Latter Half of the Nine-teenth Century. *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1902, pp. 528-53.





THE PLAIN OF JEZREEL AND THE MOUNTAINS OF GILBOA.

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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### THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

It has become increasingly clear that the instruction of the young in religion and morality, which is given in the Sunday school, the home, and by other means, is inade-THE PRESENT quate to the present need, and is not wholly in SITUATION accord with the best present knowledge. gradual retirement of the Bible from the common schools has decreased the amount of religious and moral instruction which the children receive. The Sunday school, while in general it has progressed in its ideal, its method, and its efficiency, is in essential respects failing to do its full duty; many schools and individual leaders are continuing imperfect methods of instruction, are remaining indifferent to the new educational principles and ideals, are treating religion as an isolated and optional element in individual development, and are closing their eyes to increasing knowledge.

But even if the Sunday school were doing its work perfectly, we must face the fact that a comparatively small proportion of the children of the country come under the influence of the Sunday school for any length of time. They therefore get little religious and moral education except in the home. But the home training of children in religion and morality is generally neglected and defective; parents do not know how, or do not take the necessary time and trouble, to give their children a real education in these directions. Some of them expect the Sunday school to supply this instruction, as they expect the public school to supply all other needed instruction. Others of them, and the majority, leave their children to get such knowledge of these

matters as they chance upon or learn by experience. As a consequence the greater number of children grow up without correct and adequate religious and moral education.

Further, it is a serious phase of the present situation that the religious and moral instruction of the young is isolated from their instruction in other departments of knowledge. The correlation of the different elements of education is incomplete, because the religious and moral instruction is received in entire separation from the general instruction of the public schools. The facts and truths of religion are the foundation and the imperative of morality. Present civilization rests upon the religious and ethical ideals of the past, and the civilization of the future depends upon a due recognition of religion and morality as essential factors in the growing welfare of humanity. The knowledge and experience of religious and moral truth must underlie and penetrate all knowledge and experience. events and the ideas of the past, as of the present, must be viewed in the light of a divine hand as the creator of the universe, a divine power sustaining it, a divine wisdom guiding it, and a divine purpose being accomplished in it. The physical world about us, our fellow-men, and our own selves must all be interpreted by religion truly conceived and morality properly understood. It is therefore impossible to accomplish the ideal education of the individual when the religious and moral element is isolated from the other elements; still worse when it is not received at all by the majority of the children. All the elements of education must be woven together into an organic unity to produce a perfect result.

For the past twenty-five years there has been a growing recognition of the unsatisfactoriness of the existing conditions, and THE NEED much thought and effort have been expended by individuals and organizations upon the improvement Organization of religious and moral education. The time has come for a united effort to clarify, develop, and promulgate the great ideas so worked out, and to combine the labors of those who are seeking to promote a higher ideal of substance and method in religious and moral instruction. This particular task

is not being satisfactorily accomplished by any existing organization. Many individuals and groups of workers are striving earnestly to advance this cause. But there is a lack of general leadership, to unify the labors of these individuals and groups, to express the ideas and aspirations for which they stand, and to promote a perfect education, in which religion and morality will have their true place and will perform their proper function. We need therefore a new organization which will give itself directly and wholly to this cause. It is reasonable to hope, and there are strong indications for believing, that all those who are interested in such an advance will combine their thought and their labor in such an organization to bring about the accomplishment of their ideal.

The work to be undertaken by such an organization may be indicated somewhat as follows:

THE WORK

I. It may endeavor to define the true relation
WHICH NEEDS of religious and moral instruction to other branches
TO BE DONE of instruction, indicating the part which religion
should perform in the development of the individual and of
society.

2. It may seek to show how to correlate religious and moral instruction with the instruction in history, science, and literature obtained in the public schools.

3. It may present and apply the established results of modern psychology, modern pedagogy, and modern Bible study, as related to religious and moral teaching.

4. It may indicate the proper place of the Bible in religious and moral instruction, and set forth the general and specific methods of using the Bible for this purpose.

5. It may show the necessity and method of a gradation of pupils (as in the public schools) according to age, capacity, and attainment; and the necessity and method of graded instruction, where both material and manner of instruction will be adapted to the stage of physical, mental, moral, and spiritual development which the pupil has reached.

6. It may indicate how this new, higher ideal can be worked out in the churches, the Sunday school, the day school, and

the home; also in Young People's societies, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, clubs for Bible study, societies for general culture, and the like.

- 7. It may seek to create for the Bible school a graded curriculum which will embody the larger substance and the better methods of a religious and moral education that is in accordance with the present status of biblical, theological, ethical, psychological, pedagogical, and scientific knowledge.
- 8. It may recommend for the study of the Bible, and of religion and morality in ancient and modern times, the best available courses of lessons and the best books, according to their relative merit as judged by the new ideal; and it may promote the preparation of better courses of lessons and better books in this field.
- 9. It may seek by all means to accomplish the adequate training of teachers to give religious and moral instruction, by showing what amount and kind of knowledge are required, and how this may be attained; what use is to be made of such knowledge in teaching children at the several stages of their growth; what spiritual and moral qualifications are necessary for training boys and girls into men and women; and what are the best methods in the many branches of this most important of all educational work.
- 10. It may seek to unite in a common work all those individuals and agencies which are laboring for this higher ideal of religious and moral education. By such union the wisdom, strength, and influence of each one will be increased, and results will be achieved which the same individuals and agencies, working separately, could accomplish but slowly, if at all. Such single-handed work, going on for many years now, has prepared the way for an advance step, namely, the unification of all forces which are promoting the movement.

The mode of organization to be adopted, and the machinery by which the suggested work can be accomplished, remain to be determined when the movement is formally organized. The total membership of such an association might well consist of all those persons who are desirous of joining hands to improve religious and moral education; the number might be a thousand or more. This great organization of workers would probably THE MANNER OF wish to appoint officers and committees to lead and Accomplishing to represent them in the unification, expression, THIS WORK and promotion of the movement. There would naturally be a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, with national headquarters at a suitable point; and an annual meeting of the organization would probably be held.

It would seem likely also that a large, representative standing committee, or board of direction, would be appointed to give definiteness, guidance, and effect to the great organization. This committee or board might undertake, through subcommittees, to bring into realization, by all avenues and means, the higher ideal of religious and moral education. Or the association itself at its annual meeting might from time to time appoint special committees to investigate particular branches of the work for the gathering of information, and for making reports and suggestions as to how the needs of each branch can best be supplied. The field could be divided into a number of special departments, such as (1) the Sunday Schools, (2) the Home, (3) the Theological Seminaries and Colleges, (4) the Academies and Private Schools, (5) Public Schools, (6) Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, (7) Young People's Societies, (8) Mothers' Clubs, (9) City and Village Libraries, (10) Church and Sunday School Libraries, (11) the Religious Press, (12) the Daily Press. Complete information should be obtained as to what is being accomplished, and how, by each of these great agencies of religious and moral education; and the best means for improving and increasing their efficiency should be discovered, presented, and carried out.

The association should constitute its headquarters a bureau of information and a medium of interchange for the great cause of religious and moral education. Such a means of considering and communicating ideas about this work is a necessity. It must be recognized that much thought and experience will still be required to ascertain the best conceptions and methods of accomplishing the end desired. People who wish to think and

to work along these lines should be able to get trustworthy information from some well-known center, should be able to find companions in their labors, and should be able to contribute their thought and experience to the whole body of related workers.

A literature of the movement should be created as soon as possible, setting forth the ideas and the methods of the organization, and offering specific suggestions and assistance to those who wish guidance in putting the ideas into practice. This literature should be available to everyone, at a nominal price. Lack of proper information and direction is one of the chief hindrances to present progress in this field.

Every member of the new association would be ex officio a representative of and worker for the organized movement. In addition to this, the association might appoint special representatives to spread its ideas and to carry forward its work.

The association should hold a national convention once each year, or once in two years, in which the essential ideas of this movement will be set forth by its ablest representatives, and where the great problems of the work will receive adequate and authoritative discussion. The addresses and proceedings of these conventions should be duly printed and circulated. A campaign of education on this whole subject is required, and a regularly recurring national convention is one of the best means of conducting such a campaign; it will command public attention, awaken interest among increasing numbers, and spread intelligence wherever it is sought.

This is certainly a definite and a large work for a new organization to undertake. It is an exceptional opportunity for the RELATION advancement of our individual and collective well-to Existing being. The influence so determined and so exerted Organizations will reach to every element of our American citizenship. In performing this service the new organization need not duplicate or rival the work which any organization is now carrying on. The new organization should co-operate closely with the churches, and with the various other national organizations which exist for religious and moral ends. Its work will

supplement the work of these other organizations, carrying out more completely the ideas which they have developed, and assisting the labors which they are putting forth. The success of each will promote the success of the other.

The new organization, recognizing the present satisfactory organization of the Sunday schools into international, national, state, and local associations, and the generally excellent administration of Sunday-school affairs, might well direct its efforts to the educational aspect of the Sunday school. Encouraging all persons and schools which come under its influence to maintain loyally and energetically their connection with the International Association, it should undertake to discover, formulate, and establish a new ideal of religious and moral education in the Sunday schools. The new organization might well recognize that the uniform system of Sunday-school lessons outlined by the International Association, although pedagogically imperfect, is suitable to the present status of a large majority of Sunday schools throughout the country, and that an attempt now to replace this system in this large majority of schools would be unwise. In these schools the immediate need is to inspire a higher educational ideal of biblical, religious, and moral instruction. Always, everywhere, right substance of instruction is more important than right method. When the Sunday-school teachers perceive the higher ideal of what religion should furnish to a complete education, the better method will follow. Perhaps 25 per cent. of the Sunday schools of the United States have now reached this latter stage of development, and are ready to introduce a gradation of pupils and a gradation of the material of instruction. The International Sunday School Association has not undertaken to give specific assistance to these schools. A new organization could be of great service by taking up the Sunday-school development at this point, and providing the needed guidance for this advance movement. A new uniform system of instruction should not be established, nor a set of exclusive official text-books. Schools should be allowed to select their own courses of instruction and text-books in accordance with the ideal of a curriculum recommended.

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In view of the present situation, the Council of Seventy. directing the American Institute of Sacred Literature which has had some part with many other agencies in building up the new ideal, proposes the creation of a national THE COUNCIL OF SEVENTY organization to carry out the work which has been described. The Council simply seeks to establish such an organization, hoping that when once established it may enter upon a separate existence, independent of any official relation to the Council of Seventy. At a meeting of the Senate of the Council, held in Chicago on October 13, a formal Call was authorized for a national convention to effect this organization, the convention to meet in Chicago in February or March, 1903. This Call, with the several committees appointed to bring the convention into being, and the names of those who have given their specific support to it, are printed below (pp. 303-408). The signatures indicate a spontaneous, earnest, and widespread enthusiasm for the accomplishment of this great work. The list of supporters is representative as to the different circles in which the need is felt, as to the different church and other organizations which will welcome it, and as to the type of workers upon which the organization can depend for its achievement. It is now the sincere desire of the Council of Seventy that everyone who is seeking, either individually or in association with others, to work out the ideal of religious and moral education, shall connect himself definitely with this movement. The Council will be glad to receive the names and addresses of such persons, in order that all individuals and organizations may be united in the one great undertaking, and that the opinions of all may be expressed and considered for the wise carrying out of the plans. There can be no doubt that this movement is one of the most important of modern times looking to the increase and improvement of religious and moral instruction in America. It is a normal, timely, and vital step in the development of our Christian civilization.

# THE TRAINING OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL TEACHERS. A SYMPOSIUM.

Absolutely conditional to such training must be a conviction that the work of the Sunday-school teacher lies in the highest rank of educational work, because it includes both the intellectual and the spiritual.

The Sunday-school teacher is therefore as truly necessary in the general structure of society as is the secular educator. It is a task proportionately harder from limitations of time, opportunity, facilities, and method. Less parental and state authority stands behind it, less money is invested in it, and less skill and care are devoted to it. Yet, let every Sunday-school teacher recognize his true place in the scheme of modern civilization.

The training of such a teacher demands:

- I. The cultivation of the spiritual life. Every great teacher and helper of men's souls has carried within himself a rich spiritual life. Not emotionalism, excitability of experience, but rather profound faith, reverent earnest purpose, love for souls, gladness of service, patience of heart. This comes with prayer and thoughtfulness, obedience to the divine voice, and simple-hearted trust such experience enriches the life and gives power to the character.
- 2. Knowledge of the child. The average teacher cannot read a long list of books on psychology and child nature. Yet he should read enough to enlarge his thought and put him into more perfect sympathy with the child. So, let him carefully study such books as The Boy Problem, by Forbush; A Study of Child Nature, by Harrison; Froebel's Education of Man, and Blow's Letters to a Mother. What he wants is intelligent sympathy with youth.
- 3. Knowledge of the lesson material—the Bible. Not in snatches here and there, but as a whole. That old Jewish history should lie before him in the large. Most people know

their Bible by verses and chapters. We must know it all together. Lesson helps are very good, but they are very bad indeed if they are all the teacher knows about a lesson. There are books very easily obtained, which will put even the busy teacher in actual, living possession of his Bible. The same is true of other lesson material, whether it be catechism or prayer-book or church history or the geography of Palestine. So far as the teacher deals with these subjects, it is necessary for him to do so out of definite knowledge. The intelligent Christian should know his own faith.

4. Methods. The principles of teaching are very few and very simple. Of course, one cannot know too much, so long as he does not let his knowledge get too heavy for him to carry and use. To start with, take DuBois's Point of Contact in Teaching, James's Talks to Teachers, and Hervey's Picture Work. There are many other books, but keep the list small and select. These three books, well studied, will be worth a dozen carelessly read. In schools where classes can have separate rooms very helpful and interesting work can be done with maps and models.

One of the very best things any teacher can do is to visit the public school and watch the work there. Let him do this frequently, not to copy slavishly, but till he sees how to apply the same general principles to his own work. By such training he learns how to economize time, to attract and keep interest, to analyze a lesson, to find the point of contact, and to make the pupil see with unforgetable clearness the truth taught.

Finally, the output of the Sunday school should be constantly tested as to quality. There should be a definite effort to keep in touch with the child, and to know whether or not he is developing in character and knowledge. It is a large work this. It is difficult, and demands our best. But it is the most important work in the world, this saving of the boys and girls. Jesus Christ sets it in the forefront. Let us believe that Jesus Christ knows, and do the same ourselves.

PASCAL HARROWER.

CHAIRMAN OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL COMMISSION,
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There are three main elements that enter into the training of a Sunday-school teacher. The degree in which these elements are present determines the work of the teacher. This has been true of all teachers of all grades, at all times and in all places. The case of the humble teacher in the backwoods is not exceptional; neither is that of the most successful teacher in the foremost school in the land. These elements are: a knowledge of the Bible, a knowledge of the principles of teaching, a knowledge of the pupil—Bible study, pedagogy, child study. Or, as it has been expressed quaintly: "A successful teacher must know the Bible and the boy, and the art of bringing them together." If the number ten be taken to express the total values of these elements, their relative values will be indicated by assigning to the first six, and to the second and third two each.

It follows from these considerations that every contribution, from every source whatsoever, to the teacher's knowledge of the Bible, his knowledge of principles of teaching, and his knowledge of child nature, adds to his furnishing for his responsible work. Furthermore, it is seen from this that the training of the Sundayschool teacher is a continuous process. The time does not come when his training is complete. As his knowledge expands in the three directions indicated, his training for his work is enhanced. All Sunday-school teachers are in training while they are prosecuting their work. Then training does not have reference solely to preparation previous to beginning the work of teaching. However, it is highly desirable to have the greatest amount of training possible for our teachers before they enter upon their work. Violence is done to the principles of the truest economy in putting teachers under the necessity of acquiring all training for their work after they have entered upon it. As the church awakens to the vast importance of the Sunday school, the demand for preliminary training for those who are expected to teach becomes most urgent. The very first step toward meeting this demand is to improve the courses of study and the methods of teaching in the Sunday school.

We feel safe in assuming that the relative value which we have assigned to Bible study is generally accepted. Outside the Sun-

day school there are many institutions that proffer their aid to those desiring to pursue a deeper study of the Bible. It would require considerable space even to name the institutions that are pleased to call themselves Bible training schools. Nearly all our colleges and other institutions of higher learning offer special courses in Bible study. There are a number of reputable institutions that offer correspondence courses. One of the best of these is the American Institute of Sacred Literature. There are many persons, upon whom the responsibilities of the teacher's office will fall at an early day, who cannot attend a college or other institution, but who may pursue advantageously one of these correspondence courses. Some churches have organized systems of Bible study with special reference to teaching. A large and rapidly growing literature has sprung up in response to the great demand for a working knowledge of the Bible. After all, it remains true that the greater part of this branch of training for Sunday-school teachers must be conducted by the pastor.

In acquiring a knowledge of the principles of teaching, the Sunday-school teacher should put himself into friendly relations with the day-school teacher. The law, as well as sentiment, requires the day-school teacher to have some knowledge of the principles of teaching. The improvement in this respect upon the part of secular teachers is one of the pleasing facts of educational progress. The principles which the day-school teacher is compelled to understand in order to meet the requirements of the law are the principles which the Sunday-school teacher is compelled to apply in order to succeed in his work. Then let there be the closest possible relations existing between these teachers. Books and periodicals almost too numerous to mention are within the reach of the Sunday-school teacher who desires to understand the principles of teaching. Comparatively few of these teachers are beyond the reach of the institutes and conventions that are held under the auspices of the various churches and interdenominational Sunday-school organizations. In these institutes the principles of teaching are among the commonplace topics for discussion. Expert workers are abroad in the land whose special duty is to exhibit the principles of teaching. Here, too, is a line of training that may be aided greatly by the organized schools of pedagogy and education.

Modern child study is letting in the light upon the nature of Knowledge of this creature, who was formerly invested with mystery, is rapidly assuming the definiteness of an exact science, and a vast literature is at the disposal of every intelligent man and woman who desires a real knowledge of the child. It is with the child that the Sunday school has to do principally. Here the educational specialist may render the Sunday-school worker invaluable aid; hence in this there lies another reason for closer relations between the Sunday-school teacher and the day-school teacher. All training courses for Sunday-school teachers, whether under church auspices or otherwise, should provide for definite instruction in reference to child nature. The methods as well as the matter of this instruction have long since been brought down out of the clouds and put upon the level of the knowledge of intelligent men and women who have not enjoyed the advantages of technical training. Elementary treatises in great variety are within easy reach of the purse and time of the men and women who desire to enlarge their knowledge in this direction.

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Under all the circumstances of Sunday-school history a wonderful work has been done in the salvation and moral education of souls by the hosts of Sunday-school teachers. To carry on this growing work an increasingly large number have had to be employed, and most of them were converted and consecrated to the work of the Master, which led them to make as careful preparation as was practicable for them to do. The debt of gratitude which the church owes to its faithful Sunday-school workers is more than can ever be discharged. Many of the best teachers are now crying out for better equipment for their work for the Chief Shepherd.

That training is needed, all competent to judge must admit. That the church must encourage training of teachers is a plain duty and a high responsibility. This will appear if we think of the prominent place occupied by the Sunday school in the enlargement of the kingdom of God in the world.

The majority, the large majority, of converts reach membership in the church through the agency of the Sunday school. For many reasons the pastor should train his own teachers. The pastor is responsible for the spiritual welfare of the children and young people. No helpers in the great work of saving the young people are so available to the pastor as the Sunday-school teachers. To secure the best results along spiritual lines, the pastor and the Sunday-school teachers must be in harmonious co-operation. If the pastor should undertake the work of training the teachers in his own school, it is quite clear that the theological seminaries should prepare their students for the important work of effective teaching. In the work of training the teachers, a true pastor will come into such sympathetic touch that he and his teachers will so interblend in their influence on the children and young people that they shall jointly have the joy of winning them for Christ and the church.

There should be a class in process of training from which teachers could be drawn for the vacancies in the school. In doing this work of training the pastor is doing much greater work than in teaching a Bible class. If, instead of teaching a Bible class, he visited the school and thus aided the superintendent by his sympathy and counsel, and kept the school supplied with at least partially trained teachers, he would greatly increase his influence and make the school a feeder to the church in even a larger measure than it is today.

The churches that support theological seminaries have a right to look for pastors "apt to teach," not only in the pulpit, but in the important department of teacher-training. I do not see how teacher-training can be general unless under the guidance of the men who are responsible to God for the spiritual welfare of the children, as well as of those of riper years. Normal training by Sunday-school experts may accomplish a great deal

in this good work, but can reach only a comparatively small number of teachers.

As for the training which we may hope for along this line, that will depend a great deal on the theological colleges as to the effectiveness of this work, and also upon the man himself.

It may be that in many instances the pastor can call to his aid either his Sunday-school superintendent or a member of the church specially gifted from education and natural aptitude, who may be even better qualified than himself, or may become an influential assistant in this vital work.

One thing is certain—that pastors must wake up, or a cleavage may come between the church and Sunday school which shall bode no good for the church, and certainly not for the pastor. The most fruitful field to cultivate for Christ is the Sunday school, and no department of church work should have more of the pastor's attention than the Sunday school.

I am profoundly thankful that so influential a paper as the BIBLICAL WORLD is calling attention to the vital matter of teacher-training. I sincerely hope that this subject will attract the attention not only of individual pastors, but of general church organizations, and especially of those responsible for the management of theological seminaries.

JOHN POTTS.

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Professor Lincoln, of Brown University, used to tell with fine relish a story of his attempt, while a student in Germany, to explain to a kindly inquiring theological student the purport and system of our American Sunday school. He succeeded, not without some pains, in unfolding to the Lutheran mind the scheme of classes, lessons, and methods, so as to command measurable acceptance; but at last came the revelation of the great inexcusable. "I can understand," said the German, "about the pupils, and about their lessons and their classes, and how they are taught; but I don't see who examines the teachers!"

In that good land of authority and order, behold, no man may examine who has not himself acquired the right through some form of the ubiquitous *Examen*. In these days of teachers' certificates and training schools, I wonder if wise parents, even here in the land of natural gumption, are not sometimes asking the question, before intrusting their children to a Sunday school: "Who examines the teachers?" And perhaps some distant recollections of one's own chance experiences in the rôle of a hastily summoned substitute teacher, when perchance dire need compelled for the filling of the hour an imposition of tasks in hunting references from Nahum and Second Peter, may add some zest to the query, and raise the fearful doubt: "By what authority teachest thou these things?"

As a school of instruction in the Bible, the Sunday school has laid upon it today a greater responsibility than ever through the decline of Bible reading in the home, and the absorption of the shortened sermon in the interests of present daily life or in the discussion of social and philosophic questions. The old practice of reading the Bible through "in course" at family prayers, two or three chapters at a time, has passed away, and the stimulus to Bible reading now must come from the Sunday school, through teachers who are themselves well read, and, more than that, who understand well enough the relation of the parts to the whole to guide the reading of scholars who can never be expected to read the whole. The recent increase of knowledge, too, about the Bible—the purport of its books, the background of history with which it deals, the spirit of its interpretation—though it has not removed its plain truths from the comprehension of plain men, has certainly removed its complete interpretation farther from the direct grasp of unreflecting and unguided perusal. In these days persons who assume to interpret other literatures, even to reading circles and afternoon clubs, make special preparation and generally are trained for their work; why should those who teach the sacred literature be absolved?

In connection with every Sunday school there should be maintained some form of teachers' training class; a number of different

schools may well unite in its maintenance. It should be led by someone especially trained for the purpose; it may be a clergy-man, but not every clergyman will do. For the training of such normal-class leaders special schools should be established at central points in connection with universities, or independent of them at places like Chautauqua or Northfield. These leaders should receive remuneration. Churches must learn to appropriate money for their Sunday schools as well as for their choirs. The former are more important than the latter.

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER.

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The method of training Sunday-school teachers that is most insistently demanded is one suitable for use in churches with a membership of from fifty to five hundred. Large churches, with ample resources, can call in specialists to give normal courses to the teachers, or can employ a trained man to superintend the biblical work of the church. But for the vast majority of churches these methods, or any others involving extra expense, are impracticable. In the average church the minister is the key to the situation. He must train up a company of reasonably competent teachers. What can the minister do, and how can he be made to see that he ought to do it?

So far as the prospective minister, the theological student, is concerned, the problem is a simple one. He can be made to feel, from the first to the last day of his theological course, that it will be an important part of his work to train Sunday-school teachers. The biblical departments of the seminary can see to it that he learns how to plan normal courses of Bible study for Sunday-school teachers; that he leaves the seminary with several courses in the Old and New Testaments, planned in detail with suitable literature, all ready for inauguration in his first pastorate. The seminary can also prepare him to give a short popular normal course in the fundamental principles of pedagogy. After two or three years of persistent effort, a pastor so trained can revolutionize the Sunday-school teaching in the church of average, or

less than average, membership. I have before me a letter from a recent graduate of Oberlin Seminary. The "Year Book" of 1901 reports the membership of his Sunday school as ninety-two, and the home expense of his church as \$918. He conducted a normal class in this church for three years, the class meeting once a week for three months of each year. The first year it numbered twenty-one, the second year twenty-four, the third year thirty-three. Out of this normal class ten new teachers were contributed to the Sunday school, of which number eight were high-school graduates and so probably represented the best-educated part of the little community. While we are waiting and working for better Sunday-school courses and for graded classes, it is immediately practicable to do something like that which this young pastor did.

Men already in the ministry, who have not been trained in the seminary to do this normal work, can gradually be reached through the meetings of state associations and summer conferences, through periodicals devoted to biblical study, and through the standard religious journals. While this method seems slow, it is to be remembered that the demand for better Bible teaching is in the air, and that every practical suggestion will be quickly caught up by many eager pastors and put into practice.

EDWARD I. BOSWORTH.

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First, is it practicable? The answer to this is that a good beginning, though crude and chaotic, has already been made. Beginning in England a half-century ago, translated to America by the mother Chautauqua of New York, extended by the writer to state Sunday-school associations as a distinct department of their work, nominally annexed to their Sunday-school departments by a few of the denominations, both the need and the practicability of training Sunday-school teachers have been amply demonstrated. Within the past twenty years it is safe to estimate the number of students of the various normal courses in the United States and Canada at 100,000. Illinois, Ohio, Kansas,

New Brunswick, Pennsylvania, in the order named, have been most successful in the normal departments of their Sunday-school associations. The method generally employed has been that of the "university extension," often without its expert direction.

Poor as it has been, it has brought the church face to face with its most serious problem—the equipment of those who must teach the Bible to its children and youth. The recent Denver International Sunday-School Convention was confronted squarely by this problem, and, after days of debate and argument, made answer, that it is not so much by grading Sundayschool lessons as by grading Sunday-school teachers that efficiency in Bible instruction will be attained. "What does it matter," asked a speaker, "whether the lesson be graded or ungraded, so long as the teacher is incompetent?" The convention struck at the root of the matter by appointing a committee to confer with theological schools, and to urge that the curriculum of candidates for the ministry include in the future the study of Sunday-school management and teaching. The most timely and profitable address of the convention was made by Dr. Mullins, of the Louisville Baptist Theological Seminary, upon the utilization of the seminary in training those who, by virtue of their office, should be the trainers of Sunday-school teachers.

An experience of twenty years of such teacher-training, far from being satisfactory, has led the writer to the following conclusions:

- 1. That even elementary training, if wisely directed, greatly improves and stimulates the teachers.
- 2. That a good knowledge of both science and art of teaching is attainable by the great body of Sunday-school teachers, whatever their limitations.
- 3. That very many now teaching, and young people who are willing to become teachers, will respond heartily to skilled leadership and well-directed plans and courses of study.
- 4. That the teacher-training movement will be most successful if maintained and prosecuted by the denominations severally

each caring, as it should, for its own. The trend of current denominational thought seems to be decidedly in line with this last conclusion.

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The need for the training of Sunday-school teachers is widely admitted in theory, but about as widely neglected in practice. Doubt and disbelief in its necessity lurk in the minds of multitudes of the teachers, and of workers; and this hidden skepticism bars progress. If the necessity for training were really and deeply believed and felt, the training would practically and speedily become universal.

But the progress in Sunday schools, while admittedly great, has been one-sided. The pride and the glory of them have been in their wonderful gains in numbers. The strife or emulation among schools has been laid out on quantity rather than quality. This was well as means to an end, but a weakness when the chief attention was given to securing members, and the great purpose of having Sunday schools—the spiritual character and quality of the work—became secondary. Hence, comparatively slow progress has been made in Sunday schools for a century, beyond that of gain in numbers and in popularity. The same old methods of teaching widely prevail. The progress has been one-sided and almost abnormal.

The obstacles to symmetrical development, to progress all around, along lines to secure the highest quality and the perfection of the work, are legion. Many have a lurking skepticism about its real value. Some dispute or question the gospel sanction for it, holding that the gift of the Holy Spirit as the guide into all truth is the divinely authorized qualification for the teacher. The methods of training are yet crude or imperfect. The undisciplined mind is sluggish, and naturally averse to close mental effort. The opportunities are available only to the few. Persons engaged in Sunday-school teaching are absorbed in

other duties, and their time for teacher-training is limited. Moreover, teacher-training is not yet popular. Even in large towns and among the more intelligent classes, well-equipped training classes for Sunday-school teachers are often disappointing as to attendance, and frequently fail for lack of proper support. A professor of pedagogy in one of the universities of the West stated, in response to my questions of this summer, that about 90 per cent. of the teachers in public schools were women, and only 10 per cent. were men; the pupils, however, were about equally divided between girls and boys. That means that a large per cent. of the boys and young men are being educated without the influence of the masculine mind. Educators must consider what effect this training will have in the development of the future men of the nation. A similar, though not so large a disproportion of women are teaching in Sunday schools. What this has to do with the small proportion of men that appear as church members is an unsolved problem. While wonderful improvement has been made in Sunday schools, immensely more remains to be done. The progress will henceforth be slow, until the big problem of better teacher-training has been practically solved.

Is training possible? Everything is possible to those who believe. A century ago, when Sunday schools were opposed by not a few ministers and churches, a course of education was planned by believers in the cause. Through public meetings and conventions throughout America and England the public was informed, and the object and work of the Sunday school explained, until the public mind was changed and the cause became popular.

So, when a wave of enthusiasm for better methods of teaching swept over the country, following the revivals of forty years ago, institutes with lectures, and county conventions of teachers, overspread the East and middle West, arousing a deep spirit of inquiry and of study that resulted in a marked improvement in the method of conducting Sunday schools, followed by better classification and more intelligent teaching, and decided improvements in the curriculum of lessons and subjects of study.

The institution is in its infancy; it is barely more than a century old, and has been so busy growing that hitherto it has had little time to give to the training of its guardians or teachers. Conditions, too, have been changing so rapidly within a generation that the institution has not yet fully adjusted itself to the demands made upon it. Like a great, big, overgrown child, it may seem awkward in its manners and methods to the universities white with the frosts of a thousand winters. But it has vast possibilities wrapped within it; its teachers are teachable, and are waiting to be trained for yet better service in God's great school.

EDWIN WILBUR RICE.

THE AMERICAN SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION, Philadelphia, Pa.

I wish to stand uncovered in the presence of the men and women who love "God and little children." Without fee or salary, more than a million Sunday-school teachers in our great republic are giving time and energy to the work of winning the children to Christ and teaching them the Word of God.

What should be the aim of the Sunday-school teacher? Should it be limited to instruction in the Scriptures? There is practical unanimity in making the Bible the one great text-book in the Sunday school. But is the teacher's work done when his class has had a good Bible lesson? If the Scriptures are taught according to sound pedagogic principles, is the Sunday-school teacher's task then at an end? Many of our best teachers think not; and the present writer is in full sympathy with those who hold that the Sunday-school teacher should be the shepherd of the small flock intrusted to his care. His aim should be twofold: first, to lead the unconverted to a personal acceptance of Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior, and then to train young Christians for the largest possible usefulness. This is a far wider and nobler work than the mere impartation of knowledge of Bible history and doctrine. It would be much easier to teach the Bible as literature and history than to undertake the moral and spiritual development of souls, in connection with studies in the Word of God. If knowledge of the Bible is the ultimate aim, one course of training will be required; if spiritual nurture be the teacher's goal, quite a different preparation must be sought. Bible study will then be a means, and not an end. Methods of work ought not to be slovenly in either case; for spiritual life and growth are not fostered by careless interpretation and utter ignorance of biblical criticism.

A godly life is the first qualification for the best teaching. Of course, the Word of God, in all its richness and variety, should be the teacher's one text-book. The best helps for the study of the Bible should be sought and used. The wise teacher will also do much independent, first-hand work on the Scriptures. Human nature, especially child nature, should be studied with loving sympathy and unwearied zeal. The successful teacher must be like Christ Jesus in character and life, must know the Bible from Genesis to Revelation, and must know human nature in general and in particular. Such a teacher can find the key to the pupil's heart, and open the door for the incoming Christ. Let the most thoroughgoing study of the Bible follow, in order that the young disciple may be taught to observe all things commanded by Christ.

Sunday-school teachers should be content with nothing short of the best preparation within their power. Much can be learned in normal classes, in teachers' meetings, and in conventions and institutes from Sunday-school specialists. Quite a large number of good books on child study and pedagogy may be obtained at moderate cost. Denominational and undenominational publishing houses offer teachers' helps of a high order. Some of our theological seminaries now admit teachers to the English Bible lecture-rooms. Thus on every hand the doors are swinging open to Sunday-school teachers. Many will enter, in search of the best possible training for their high calling, and will come forth to enrich both old and young with the treasurers of knowledge they have found.

JOHN R. SAMPEY.

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Suggestions regarding the preparation of the Sunday-school teacher sometimes present an ideal unattainable by the vast majority of those whom they are intended to help. The result is discouragement, and sometimes withdrawal from the work. The Sunday-school teacher naturally says: "I cannot attain such an ideal; I have not the time, or the money, or the brains. It will be better for me simply to withdraw." On the other hand, it should be possible to make for the rank and file suggestions that are ideal and at the same time practical. This is what I shall try to do.

First of all I place a personality, for this is essential. Nothing can take the place of it, while, on the other hand, no observer of Sunday-school work doubts that it can take the place of much. The teacher should be a likable person, able to understand boys and girls, and to meet them on their own ground; knowing what they need, and alive to what they like and what they want. I do not speak of personality in the sense merely of natural endowment. I believe that a person not naturally winning may become so, provided he is sincere and is in earnest about it.

It is necessary for one who would win children to know children—to study their temperaments, instincts, impulses, motives. The Sunday-school teacher cannot escape the necessity of being in a very practical and human way a psychologist. But only that psychology is worth anything to the Sunday-school teacher which is understood by the heart, and which percolates down to the springs of action. The right kind of knowledge of what children want and what they like leads naturally to a rich and many-sided equipment. The teacher who understands—I mean, understands practically—that children readily grasp truth presented in story-form will master the art of story-telling.

Everything which has been given as a reason for knowing children applies with equal force to knowing the subject to be taught. However winning a person may be, no instruction can take place except through the medium of subject-matter—of the truth to be taught. I can sum up what I want to say under this head in a single statement: The teacher should know his

lesson well enough to be sincerely and vitally interested in it. No one can be wholesomely enthusiastic about that which he knows superficially. If the teacher finds that he is not interested in the lesson, the cause in nine cases out of ten lies in his own ignorance. The remedy is to find out enough about the subject—its meaning, its relations, its application—to be interested in it.

No one competent to judge now believes that a teacher can afford to neglect method in teaching. Some untrained teachers seem to have been born with tact and teaching skill, and some trained teachers seem to have been made stiff and formal by their so-called training; but there is no teacher but is made better by knowing such things as these: that he must find the "point of contact" between the child's mind and the truth; that teaching means causing the mind of the learner to act, and that the essential thing, therefore, is not what the teacher does, but what he can get the learner to do; that interest is a factor that must be reckoned with, and that it operates under ascertainable laws; that the mind develops, and that at each stage of development it requires appropriate "food and motion;" that the teacher's power of review, recapitulation, restatement, is as aidful to memory as his way of putting things in the first place is helpful to attention and understanding; that concentration is vital to success in teaching, and that therefore the teacher must have a definite point and must make everything center on that; that in the social community of the class and the school the same laws apply as in other social bodies, and that therefore there must be division of labor, fixed responsibility, pride in work, and regulated emulation — in a word, organization; that definiteness in the pupil's preparation is favored by definiteness and regularity of assignment, and that therefore the problem of getting pupils to prepare their lessons is to be solved only by giving them definite and tangible tasks that are within their power to perform.

The four points in the preparation of the teacher on which I should lay emphasis are then, first, that the teacher should be a person with whom children feel it is worth while to sustain the close relation of pupils; second, that the teacher should know

the nature — and the natures — of his pupils; third, that he must know his subject; and, finally, that he should know the best way of presenting the truth to the pupils, and of engaging the activity of the pupils upon the truth.

WALTER L. HERVEY.

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We get at the heart of this problem by asking what constitutes a first-rate Sunday-school teacher. I would say: (I) a thorough or, at least, a good working knowledge of the subject to be taught; (2) a knowledge of the large whole to which this subject is related; (3) an acquaintance with the best methods of imparting knowledge and arousing studiousness; (4) a genuine interest in people, young or old; and, consequently, (5) a disposition toward unselfish exertion on their account. Some of these qualifications are natural, others are to be acquired; each one of them is capable of indefinite development. With them a teacher can make much of almost any course, having the ability and resourcefulness essential to its adaptation to the proper end.

When we ask how to develop average teachers into those who are thus equipped, we face a problem of long standing, to which much thought has already been given. To offer a specific solution is difficult, for the reason that the conditions are rarely twice alike. It is not fair to keep in mind the most fortunate schools; we must consider the average ones.

Teachers usually fail (1) because both they and their classes are aware that they are only half acquainted with that which they are trying to teach; hence a faint-heartedness and woodenness which neither interests nor inspires; (2) because the lack of respect engendered in the class by this ignorance prevents their words of advice or exhortation from taking effect; boys rapidly acquire the idea that Sunday-school affairs are "a small boy's game," as one expressed it; (3) because many who are faithful to their duty and are hard workers fail to use good methods of teaching and to realize the ends which they are well able to attain.

In regard to feasible methods of training, four suggestions come to me:

- I. Wherever a church can afford to secure a paid superintendent, who will thereby be able to devote himself to the study of the particular problems of its Sunday school, giving the time needful for real leadership, this should be done. A parallel suggestion is to set apart the superintendent—usually an officer many times over—for this particular church work, so that he can make himself an expert leader and adviser.
- 2. The superintendent should make his teachers feel their responsibility and opportunity. If he cannot do this, he is useless. The best teacher-training is the solution for one's self of some real problem. He should study each class, have an opinion about its needs, make plain the problem to the teacher, encourage an attempt at its solution, but interfere only with great care.
- 3. The Sunday school is a co-operative institution. One good class does not redeem it. Reasonably frequent gatherings of teachers for mutual consultation, if wisely planned and directed, are invaluable in promoting enthusiasm, broadening the biblical horizon, unifying a school in ideals and methods of teaching. Such gatherings are misused if the teachers come together merely to hear an address or to get filled up for the next Sunday's lesson. They must be the educational opportunity of the teacher for methods, Bible study, and general inspiration. The chief quality for the leader is sanctified common-sense.
- 4. The greatest obstacle today in the way of the ambitious teacher is the lack of clear, simple, up-to-date, inexpensive manuals bearing on these various needs. We are ready to prepare these at the present time; five years ago they would have been impracticable. I should like to see a teacher's library, prepared by the very best all-around scholarship of today, put upon the market.

One only gets started at this subject in the space allotted. I have written strictly from the Sunday-school point of view.

FRANK K. SANDERS.

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### THE TOMBS OF THE ANCIENTS.

By REV. A. FORDER. Whitchurch, Hants, England.

The traveler in eastern lands cannot but be struck with the variety of rock-hewn and rock-built receptacles that were prepared to receive the remains of the ancients. The study of



ROLLING-STONE AT ENTRANCE TO THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS.

these tombs is most interesting. In many journeys through Palestine and Syria I have had the opportunity of inspecting these old monuments. If one can believe the stories of the Koran, there was a time when man was at a loss to know what to do with the dead, for there we read how Cain, having killed Abel, became exceedingly troubled in his mind, and carried the dead body of his brother about on his shoulders for a considerable time, not knowing what to do with it. At last God taught him

to bury it by the example of a raven, which, having killed another raven in his presence, dug a hole with its claws and beak, and buried the dead raven in the ground. This story arises, no doubt, from an effort to account for the origin of earth burial.



ENTRANCE TO THE TOMBS OF THE JUDGES, NEAR JERUSALEM.

But from ruins and excavations we learn that the dead were formerly disposed of in other manners also. The most frequent way seems to have been to select a solid mass of rock suitably located—not difficult to find in Palestine or Syria. Chambers were then cut, and along these, niches and receptacles for the bodies were hollowed out. Around Jerusalem there are fine remains of such work, the best being the Tombs of the Kings,

near the Damascus gate, and the Tombs of the Judges, still farther north. At the low entrance to the former is yet to be seen a rolling-stone by which the entrance to the tombs could be closed. Once inside, candles are needed, and one may pass from chamber to chamber; shaft and shelf tombs are visible



SHAFT TOMBS IN A CHAMBER OF THE TOMBS OF THE JUDGES.

on every side, all hewn from the solid rock. The Tombs of the Kings have places for sixty-one bodies. The different chambers bear distinct traces of having once been closed by properly fitted stone doors. These catacombs or vaults were known, according to Jewish tradition, to be tombs as early as the four-teenth century, and they were sometimes thought to be the royal burial place of the early kings of Judah, from which tradition they are still called the "Tombs of the Kings."

The Tombs of the Judges are somewhat different, and are not complete. The entrance is through a small ornamented portal into a vestibule twelve feet wide. Connecting with the vestibule are four chambers, with shafts, niches, and shelves which could receive sixty bodies each in separate apartments. These chambers are assigned by tradition to the members of the



COLUMBARIUM AT PETRA.

Jewish courts of justice, and are still held in great veneration by the Jews, who constantly visit them. The amount of labor necessary to cut such tombs out of the solid rock must have been considerable; the work was probably done by slaves. Rock-hewn tombs abound all through the land, and much of interest could be written about them.

But we must pass on to another mode of disposing of the remains of the dead in Roman times, viz., the *columbarium*. The chambers or caves containing these receptacles are usually found underground, near large Roman ruins; they are sometimes circular in shape, sometimes long and narrow. Around or along

the walls are cut out numerous niches like pigeon-holes, in rows one above another, oftentimes hundreds in number. These openings or pockets were made for the reception of skulls or urns of ashes. The writer saw one of these *columbaria* at Petra, in



A TOMB TOWER AT PALMYRA.

which many of the niches were sealed by cement; unfortunately they were so high up that it was impracticable to investigate their contents. Visitors to Beit Jibrin may see many fine specimens of these curious Roman burying places.

In the Hauran and at Palmyra a still different kind of burial was customary. Here we see what was probably the mode in the third and fourth centuries of our era. Instead of digging

underground, these ancients erected high towers in which the bodies of the dead were placed. These towers varied in size, according to the number of families who wished to use them, or according to the population of the communities. These structures were built of solid blocks of stone, and could be



FAMILY REPRESENTED IN MARBLE UPON A PALMYRENE SARCOPHAGUS.

enlarged from time to time. In the existing remains of these towers today several hundred bodies could be stowed away. The chambers were arranged in stories, the ceilings of each being finely carved; and frequently they were ornamented with busts of the persons buried in them. Shafts ran from bottom to top, and these contained shelves made of thin slabs of stone, on which the bodies were placed. Many of these shelves still hold mummy clothes and bones. Well-erected stairways led from story to story.

At Palmyra I saw some underground chambers of fine dimen-

sions, elaborately decorated in colors and mosaics. These burial rooms contained the names and likenesses of those buried there engraved on walls of white plaster. Most noticeable of all were some very fine white marble sarcophagi of extraordinary



ABSALOM'S PILLAR, NEAR JERUSALEM.

size. On each of these was carved a representation of the family, the father of which was buried in this splendid tomb. In one chamber I counted not less than nine of these beautiful sarcophagi, waiting for someone to bring them out into the open and thus give people opportunity to see how the dead were honored by the Palmyrenes about 300 A. D. A gigantic column fifty-eight feet high, standing on a pedestal, bears an

inscription in Greek and Palmyrene of the year 450 Seleucidan era (138 A. D.), erected in honor of a family named Alilamos which was buried near by.

Yet another kind of tomb bears testimony to the desire of the



RACHEL'S TOMB, ON THE ROAD TO BETHLEHEM.

ancients to perpetuate the memory of their departed. It is the monolith, of which I may mention two instances. That known as the "Tomb of Absalom," in the valley east of Jerusalem, is hewn out of the solid rock, the substructure being nineteen and a half feet square and twenty feet high. The finely modeled superstructure is visible above the rubbish which surrounds it to a height of forty-seven feet. The Jews of today on passing the

tomb throw stones and pronounce curses against it because of Absalom's treatment of his father David. Whether the monument goes back to the time of Absalom, and is in fact his burial place, is an archæological problem.

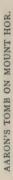
The so-called "Tomb of Rachel," which stands on the west side of the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, is another



THREE-STORIED TOMB AT PETRA.

of the few old monuments marking the last resting-place of those who were highly revered by the ancients. In this monument, which has features of its own, the burial place is under the dome. On special days the Jews go in large numbers to visit the grave of "their mother Rachel." For many centuries the place was marked by a pyramid of stones. It is uncertain (cf. I Sam. 10:2) whether this can be the actual place of Rachel's burial.

Perhaps the most remarkable rock-hewn tombs are to be found in the ruined city of Petra, in Edom. They probably take us back to the second and third centuries A. D., when Petra flourished under Roman rule. Although the rocks are of some-





what soft consistency, the elaborate elegance with which they have been chiseled must have required extraordinary perseverance. Far above the ground in every direction are seen entrances to tombs now inaccessible. The grandest of these rock excavations is that known as the "Three-Storied Tomb," in which each of the two upper stories is adorned with eighteen Corinthian columns. The interior of these is plain, the walls containing niches and shafts for the reception of bodies. Pyramidal tombs are to be seen on every hand.

The tomb of Aaron, on Mount Hor, is no doubt of great antiquity. Placed on the summit of the mountain, few modern travelers ever see or visit it. It is a large structure of roughly hewn stones. Hither come Arabs from everywhere to offer their sacrifices and to ask the help of the prophet in time of need or trouble. The place is in charge of an old man styled the "servant of the prophet." To him is given money to keep the tomb in repair.

One cannot but be impressed with the thought and labor which were bestowed upon these monuments of antiquity for the commemoration and care of the dead. Tombs which have survived for many centuries speak eloquently of reverence for the departed. As in our own day, however, we observe that the costliest monuments were not always erected to those who deserved the highest esteem of their contemporaries.

## THE ATTITUDE OF AMOS AND HOSEA TOWARD THE MONARCHY.

By PROFESSOR WALTER R. BETTERIDGE, Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.

It is a well-understood fact that the Old Testament presents two distinct judgments as to the right of a monarchy to exist among the people of Jehovah. According to the one view, monarchy as such is a sin against Jehovah, and the desire to establish a monarchy is branded as an act of rebellion against the sole rightful king. This judgment first finds definite expression in the literature in I Sam., chap. 8, and it is clear that it was not without weight in the later periods of the history, as may be gleaned especially from the form into which some of the later prophets and writers cast their predictions of the reorganized state and the new community. The other judgment is that the monarchy is a divinely ordained, or at least a divinely favored, institution; and from the time of David on it seems to have been regarded by the majority of the prophets and other writers of the Old Testament as the model on which Jehovah's ultimate kingdom of truth and righteousness would be established. Over the monarchy David and his descendants were to reign forever. This conception of the monarchy furnished the basis for a great part of that large body of strictly messianic prophecy which occupies so large a place in the literature of the Old Testament, and which, though occasionally set aside, was constantly coming to the front through the subsequent history, and which seems to have had a powerful hold upon the imagination of the Jewish people in the time of our Lord himself.

It would be a fruitful subject for investigation to seek to trace the history of these two ideas or judgments, and to ascertain whether it is possible to find in the peculiar conditions of the times some of the reasons for the varying prominence of first one and then the other of these opinions. This study is of

necessity attended with peculiar difficulties, because of the great uncertainty as to the age and circumstances of the various Old Testament documents, and also because of our ignorance at so many critical points of the real course of the outward history of the people. But these difficulties are not insuperable and must not deter us from making an honest attempt; and it is not impossible that, in this very investigation of the history of ideas, light may be thrown upon controverted points of history and of literature. During a considerable period of the history the question which we have propounded is still further complicated by the fact that there were two kingdoms in Israel—using the word in the broad, inclusive sense — each one claiming to be the representative of the original Israelitish state, and each one having its advocates and defenders among the official religious leaders of the people. This study, if it is to be pursued at all, must be done in sections, for it would be an enormous task to ascertain the attitude of all the religious leaders of the people to these questions. And it is the purpose of this paper to make a contribution to this study by taking one or two authorities for the religious and political life of Israel and examining their testimony. Choice has been made of Amos and Hosea, because, as a result of prolonged and repeated attempts to interpret these prophets, it has seemed that some things, which from every other point of view are obscure, are capable of at least a plausible explanation when the test which we are suggesting is applied to them.

It is now generally recognized that Amos and Hosea were distinctively prophets to northern Israel. Israel is for them almost, if not quite, exclusively the kingdom of the ten tribes, following the prevailing usage in the books of the kings during the existence of the dual monarchy. And, indeed, it is claimed by some authorities that these prophets had a message only for the northern kingdom, that their message was exhausted when they had preached to Israel, and that they make no reference to Judah. If this were true, we should have to admit that the material left for the investigation which we are proposing would be decidedly limited. But the fact is that this claim with regard

to the limitation of the scope of the activity of our prophets is made only too often, as it seems, because it is demanded by the exigencies of some theory of interpretation, and can be maintained only by the denial of the authenticity of all passages and phrases in these books which do not harmonize with the theory. If, therefore, our interpretation seeks to preserve and make use of much of this discarded material, we have the consciousness of being no more under the dominance of a theory than are those who adopt some other method of interpretation, while our theory has the advantage of making a serious attempt to utilize the materials and authorities as they have been preserved to us.

#### I. AMOS.

The work and teaching of Amos have been described too often to need more than a summary. Amos was a man of Judah; of this there can be little doubt, although the book which he has left us is concerned chiefly with Israel. We cannot be certain as to the date of his activity, because, in the present uncertainty as to the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah, it cannot be stated positively just when either Uzziah or Jeroboam II. ceased to reign; nor is the date of the earthquake known, except that in all probability it is the famous earthquake which occurred in the reign of Uzziah. If the much-quoted reference to Azriyau of Yaudi in the records of Tiglath Pileser2 really referred to Uzziah-Azariah of Judah, as some scholars still think, then Uzziah would have been on the throne as late as 739/8. But, hard as it is to give up an identification which has once become current, it seems probable that it must be done in this case, for Winckler's argument that the reference in the records of Tiglath Pileser is to the north Syrian land of Ya'di amounts practically to a demonstration.3 Consequently we are entirely in the dark as to the date of the close of the reign of Uzziah, and are at liberty to place it anywhere between 750 and 740, preferably much nearer the latter than the former date. It seems, at least, a

<sup>\*</sup> Annals, ed. Rost, ll. 104, 105, 111, 123, 131, pp. 19-23. <sup>1</sup> Zech. 14:5.

<sup>3</sup> Altorientalische Forschungen, pp. 13 ff.; per contra, McCurdy, History, Prophecy and the Monuments, Vol. I, pp. 348-50, 413-15.

plausible suggestion that the earthquake to which Amos makes reference may have fallen in the year when King Uzziah died, and that this terrific natural phenomenon may have been the occasion on which Isaiah was called to his prophetic activity. It has been suggested that the call of Isaiah came in connection with an earthquake, and Duff has used the suggestion with telling effect in making his description of the call in his recent book on The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews.4 Now, what is more likely than that this is the earthquake which happened just two years after the call of Amos? The end of the reign of Jeroboam II. must be placed between 745 and 741, and somewhere between these two dates must be placed the ministry of Amos—probably shortly after 745 and not long after the vigorous Tiglath Pileser had ascended the throne of Assyria, and had entered upon that career of conquest which was so seriously to affect the little Palestinian kingdoms. It was a time of comparative political and social prosperity in both of these states when Amos received his commission to go and prophesy against Israel. The introductory message of the prophet is arranged with great skill. After gaining the attention of his hearers and winning their favor, by proclaiming the woes which are impending over the heads of their neighbors; stirring within them, it may be, the hope that these disasters might be ushering in that "Day of Jehovah" when their power should extend over all the regions which had formerly acknowledged the authority of David and Solomon; and even including Judah, though briefly, in his survey — he suddenly turns and empties all the vials of the divine vengeance upon the heads of his astounded hearers. The burden of that message, with all its variety of enforcement, is simply this: The doom of the northern kingdom is sealed. The house of Jeroboam must come to an end, and the stately edifice of the monarchy which he had been rearing with such infinite pains, and for whose beautification and enlargement at the hands of his successors he undoubtedly hoped, was destined to come crashing in ruins about their heads. For this kingdom there was no hope of restoration; the end was at hand, Jehovah's

<sup>4</sup> P. 8o.

word had gone forth, and he would no longer spare and forgive his apostate people.

But this does not exhaust the message of Amos. More closely examined, it will be seen that he, like most of the Old Testament prophets, has two phases or sides to his teaching. The destruction of Israel was not an end in itself. The prophet had not been so taught by Jehovah of Hosts. It was rather a means to the end, and that end was the ultimate establishment of Jehovah's kingdom of truth and righteousness in the world. All the prophets have their program for the future, and Amos was no exception. His writings enable us to ascertain that program, and it was, briefly stated, this: Amos's hope for the future centers about Jerusalem, the capital of the southern kingdom, and its Davidic dynasty. There is therefore an element of truth in the ingenious theory of Winckler,5 that Amos was a Judean emissary active in the time of Ahaz, seeking to win the hearts of the people of Israel for the king of Judah at the time when that monarch was aiming, by his submission to Tiglath Pileser, to secure from the king of Assyria the practical reunion of the two kingdoms under the sway of Judah. But the undoubted fact that Amos favored Judah does not make it necessary to ignore the plain statement of the title and bring him down into the reign of Ahaz, while the plain reference to the earthquake, if nothing more, would indicate that even if the title is not from the hand of Amos, the editor was in possession of accurate information as to the time of the prophet's activity. Nor can the work of Amos be explained upon essentially political motives, even though those motives be cloaked in religious formulæ. Assuming, then, that Amos favored Judah and looked forward to a reunion of the two kingdoms under the sway of the Davidic kings in Jerusalem, the various utterances of the book seem to fall into line in harmony with this supposition. For Amos, Jerusalem is Jehovah's dwelling-place. The very motto of his prophecy, as preserved for us, sets forth this fact in the clearest and most unmistakable language: "Jehovah roareth from Zion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Geschichte Israels, Vol. I, pp. 91-5; Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament<sup>3</sup>, Vol. I, pp. 266, 267.

and from Jerusalem he uttereth his voice." It is also seen in the character of his condemnation of Judah.6 Her citizens are to be punished for sins against Jehovah's revealed will and for turning away from his service. This reference to Judah has, it is true, been rejected as unauthentic by many recent critics, but the arguments which they bring are hardly conclusive. The purpose of Amos to turn the attention of the few faithful ones in Israel to Judah would not be interfered with by this denunciation, while the force of the direction of his woes against Israel would be very seriously weakened if Judah should be omitted from the catalogue. Furthermore, even though he saw in Judah the only and the divinely appointed rallying-point for the future, he was yet honest enough and righteous enough to recognize that all was not as it should be in Judah, and that punishment was necessary in order to fit the city of David to become the political and religious headquarters of the new Israel. On the same grounds it is possible to defend the reference to Zion in 6:1, though the presence of the word here may be due to a textual corruption. That Amos expected Judah to suffer some sort of punishment is clear from his reference in 9:11 to the falling and broken tabernacle of David. This condition of the tabernacle of David is sometimes held to be a reference to the division of the monarchy, but it seems better to explain it as referring to the punishment which Amos expected Assyria to inflict upon Judah in the invasion which was to annihilate Israel. Her punishment was to be severe, but not so heavy as that of her northern sister, inasmuch as she was not to lose her independent existence and her political identity.

The epilogue of the book, 9:8 ff., is regarded by many scholars of the present day as either in part or entirely a later editorial addition; but, as it seems to us, without sufficient reason. Vss. 8b, 9 is really the only passage in which Amos in any way indicates that there can be any exception to the overwhelming doom which he pronounces on Israel; for the rest of the chapter, with the exception of vs. 10, deals with an entirely different phase of his theme, namely, the form of the reorganiza-

<sup>6</sup> Amos 2:4, 5.

tion of the community of Jehovah's people after the catastrophe shall have come upon the northern kingdom. That catastrophe, it has already been declared, will be brought about by an invasion of the land, and in these closing words it is asserted once more that this invasion shall utterly destroy the sinful kingdom, by which is meant the people of Israel as a nation. At the most, then, it would be necessary to reject only vss. 8b, 9 as a later addition, on the ground that it weakened the force of the preceding denunciation. But even this seems scarcely necessary. Amos has already intimated that it is possible for Jehovah to have pity upon the remnant of Joseph (5:15), and his exhortation to seek Jehovah and live implies that he regards it as at least possible for some of the people to escape. It is probable, therefore, that in 9:8b, 9 he is recurring to the same thought, that some individuals from the sinful kingdom may survive the ruin and escape from the disaster. The figure of the sifting is not quite certain, but on the whole it seems most likely that the invaders are the sieve which will sift the people of Israel in their own land. In this sifting process the good shall be spared, because they shall be like the wheat which passes through the coarse sieve, and so they shall remain in their own land; while the small stones and the hard material which cannot pass through the sieve shall be kept in the hands of the enemy and shall be by him carried away to be destroyed.7 This destruction of the wicked is asserted over again with the utmost positiveness in vs. 10. Our picture, then, is that in the overwhelming ruin which is at hand the sinful nation as such shall come to an end and the sinful members of that nation shall perish, but that there shall be left a residue, comparable to the good grain which passes through the sieve and remains upon the threshing-floor. And this picture naturally leads the way for the final prediction. The question as to the ultimate destiny of this good grain is answered by pointing to the re-establishment of the shattered power of the Davidic house. This house, though

<sup>7</sup> WETZSTEIN, Z. D. P. V. (1891), Vol. XIV, p. 17; art. "Agriculture," Encyclopædia Biblica, Vol. I, cols. 84, 85; SEESEMANN, Israel und Juda bei Amos und Hosea, pp. 13, 14.

weakened by the invasion which overwhelms Israel, shall yet survive the shock, shall take up into itself those who escape from the sifting process in the northern kingdom, and shall be restored to its former power, inheriting once more so much of Edom as shall remain after the storm shall have swept over the land, and also all the nations which had once owned the sway of Jehovah through their submission to his servant David. Of these nations it is not strange that Edom should be the only one mentioned by name, because it was Edom that was most thoroughly subjugated by David and was held the longest by the kingdom of Judah. In that re-established Davidic monarchy whose power was to extend over Aram, Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Philistia, there should be given that abundance of physical blessing which was the natural production of the land flowing with milk and honey.

The bearing of the prophecy of Amos upon the main subject of our investigation is therefore clear, and it is only necessary for us to sum up our conclusions in a series of propositions. Amos regarded the monarchy as the necessary and indispensable form for the perpetuation and extension of Jehovah's kingdom in the world. As a loyal Judean and a believer in the promises made to David, he could regard nothing but the Davidic house as the rightful head of the monarchy of the future. The doom of the northern kingdom was sealed, in part, it may be, because it owed its origin to schism, but most of all because its sins and its apostasy made it impossible for it as a nation to become the vehicle for the communication of Jehovah's truth to the world. The rising Assyrian power was the means for executing Jehovah's decrees of punishment. The other Palestinian states, and even Judah herself, must suffer at the hands of Assyria; but it was upon Israel that the blow would fall with crushing effect. Only a few should escape from Israel; these righteous ones should be taken up into the restored and renewed Davidic monarchy, whose power was to be extended to its former wide limits; and then the messianic kingdom was to be ushered in. As we look at this picture from our modern point of view, it is evident that there was much foreshortening, and that the prophet brings

into close relation events for which the world was destined to wait many weary ages.

It may be objected by some that this interpretation does not represent the teaching of Amos. To this we reply that it is certainly a fair interpretation of the book of Amos as it stands, and also that there is no sufficient ground for holding that the book is not a fair epitome of the theology and politics of Amos. Modern investigations have shown that it was perfectly possible for a man in the time of Amos to have such political presuppositions and hopes as those which we find in this book. And there is certainly no reason to suppose that revelation or inspiration, whatever they may or may not give, would render a man less sagacious and worldly wise than he would be without them. Once having grasped the fact that the perpetuation and extension to Jehovah's dominion is one of the postulates of the prophets, then it becomes evident that even a prophet whose main business it was to declare the doom of Israel could not desist from his labors without indicating, at least in outline, the form in which Jehovah's power was to express itself. And, as we have seen, for Amos that form was the Davidic monarchy, with its capital at Jerusalem and its central point in Zion—the place in which and from which Jehovah manifested himself.

[To be concluded in the next number.]

found conjoined as in this verse in Acts, to say nothing of the separate technical use of  $\lambda \epsilon \pi / \epsilon$  in Hippocrates and Dioscorides. It may be added that the two words are used only by Luke in the New Testament, and that, although the noun occurs some six times in the LXX, it does not occur in the same sense as here.

In this early portion of Acts we have two incidents of judgment: the sudden death of Ananias and Sapphira, and the loathsome death of Herod. In each narrative we have the word ἐκψύγειν, which is used only by Luke in the New Testament and is used by him in three places: Acts 5:5, 10; 12:23. It is true that the verb occurs twice in the LXX (see Hatch and Redpath's Concordance), but it is not employed in the same sense as here, and it is not found in classical Greek. Yet it is frequently used in medical phraseology, while Zahn also draws attention to the fact that four derivatives of ψύχειν are used by Luke, and by him alone. In the description of the death of Herod the compound word σκωληκόβρωτος, "eaten of worms," is one which we might expect from a medical man. It is found only here in the New Testament, and nowhere in the LXX, although a similar disease is apparently referred to in 2 Macc. 9:5 f., and a similar phrase is used of a similar disease in Plutarch. Hobart, it is true, gives three instances of the application of the word by Theophrastus to a disease in plants; but nothing was more natural than that a physician should be acquainted with botanical terms, and that he should employ the expression of a disease of the body; for, although the actual term is not so applied in the medical writers, yet its component parts are so used, e. g., βιβρώσκω of the eating away of the flesh by disease, and σκώληξ by Dioscorides and Galen of worms in sores or in the intestines.

Before we pass on we may note that in this first part of Acts we have a very remarkable expression which Hobart, Zahn, and Plummer regard as primarily medical. In 10:11, the description of the vision vouchsafed to Peter at Joppa, we are told of a great sheet let down by four corners. Both  $\partial\theta\partial\nu\eta$  and  $\dot{a}\rho\chi a\ell$ , in their sense here, are peculiar to Luke in the New Testament,

but in medical language  $\grave{a}\rho\chi a \imath$  was the technical term for ends of bandages, and Galen especially remarks on this use of the word. It is quite true that in the LXX (Exod. 36:24 [39:17])  $\grave{a}\rho\chi a \imath$  is used of the extremities of the high-priest's breastplate, to which rings were attached for fastening it upon the ephod, and that references to a similar use of the word are given in Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus (see Grimm-Thayer's Lexicon); it is also, no doubt, true that  $\grave{o}\theta\acute{o}\nu\eta$  is employed in classical Greek for a sail-cloth or a sail, although it does not occur in the LXX. But Hobart is able to give us a whole series of passages in which  $\grave{a}\rho\chi\acute{\eta}$  is found in connection with  $\grave{o}\theta\acute{o}\nu\eta$ ,  $\grave{o}\theta\acute{o}\nu\iota\sigma$ , in medical phrase-ology, so that we have in the combination  $\grave{a}\rho\chi a \imath$   $\grave{o}\theta\acute{o}\nu\eta$ s a technical medical phrase which a physician might naturally introduce.

We turn to chaps. 13, 14 of Acts, and here, in a section of the book with regard to which attempts have been made to treat it as a separate document, standing quite apart so far as authorship is concerned, we have two miracles which furnish material for our inquiry. In 13:11, in the description of the blindness of Elymas, the words ἀχλύς, ἐπέπεσεν (so T. R., and B. Weiss), and σκότος, since Dioscorides combines in one passage σκοτώματα and ἀχλύς, may be classed as medical terms (see Expositor's Greek Testament, II, in loc.). In Acts 14:8 the lame man at Lystra is described as ἀδύνατος τοῦς ποσίν. The adjective is used only here in the New Testament in this sense, and it is frequent in medical writers; but we must be careful not to lay too much stress upon it, as we find it at least twice in Tobit, in the phrase ἀδύνατος τοις ὀφθαλμοίς. But in the expression ἀνάστηθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου ὀρθός we have again a collocation of a verb and adjective which is frequent in medical writers (see also Expositor's Greek Testament, II, in loc.). It is, moreover, noteworthy that ὀρθός is used nowhere else in the New Testament, except in Heb. 12:13 in a figurative sense; that Luke alone uses a cognate word, ἀνορθόω, in a similar sense to the adjective in this passage; and that in Galen we find the simple verb ὀρθόω combined with τὸ κῶλον ἀδύνατον. Here, too, we have the characteristic ἀτενίζειν, as also the characteristic note of the time of the duration of the disease.

In Acts 20:9 Eutychus is described as borne down by deep sleep during Paul's preaching at Troas. The description, as given in the original, contains two distinct expressions, the present participle  $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \phi \epsilon \rho \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$ , "becoming oppressed with deep sleep," and then the aorist participle  $\kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \nu \epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon \ell s$ , "being still more overcome by the sleep." The verb  $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \phi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \sigma \alpha a a$  is found in the LXX, but not in the same sense as here; and it is used by Luke alone in the New Testament. It may also be admitted that it is used by Josephus of falling asleep (Antiq., II, v, 5), and so by Aristotle (Wetstein); but it is not surprising that Zahn should regard the whole phrase in Acts as medical, and such as a medical man would employ, if we remember that the verb was not only combined with  $\tilde{\nu}\pi\nu \sigma$  in medical treatises, but that medical writers would employ various terms to express the different degrees of sleep, e. g., the adjective  $\beta a\theta \nu s$  as here.

The vivid scenes connected with Paul's shipwreck, in one of the most important of the "we"-sections, afford us further testimony. In Acts 28:4-6 Zahn traces a medical hand in no less than four expressions. The first of these, θήριον, is employed in particular by medical writers to denote a viper; in the same way they employed θηριακή to describe an antidote made chiefly from the flesh of vipers. The two verbs, πίμπρασθαι, "to swell," and καταπίπτειν, "to fall down," are both peculiar to Luke in the New Testament. And, although the cognate form  $\pi\rho\dot{\eta}\theta\omega$  is used to denote a swelling of the body in the LXX (Numb. 5:21, 22, 27), while the second verb was no doubt a common one, yet the first was the usual medical term for inflammation, and the second was frequently adopted by medical writers to describe the sudden falling down in a fit, or from a wound. With regard to προσδοκάω, "to expect," upon which Zahn lays stress as used so frequently by Luke, the cognate noun προσδοκία being peculiar to him, the frequent use of both verb and noun in classical Greek and in the LXX may well make us hesitate to attach too much weight to the alleged medical use here. But it may be fairly said that both verb and noun are quite in the manner of medical writing, as they denote constantly not only the expectation of the result of an illness, but the expectation of the approach of pain or paroxysms. Zahn also points out that the verb in question is closely conjoined in the passage before us with another expression which he calls a specific medical term, ἄτοπος. This adjective is used three times by Luke, and only once elsewhere in the New Testament, by Paul; but it must be admitted that the verb προσδοκάω is found united with it in Josephus (Antiq., VIII, xiv, 4), and so, too, in Herodian (IV, II) in the same sense as here, and that ἄτοπος is found several times in the LXX with an ethical meaning. Hobart, however, furnishes abundant proof that the word was of frequent medical use in denoting any unusual symptoms of disease, or anything deadly or fatal. Thus it is used by Hippocrates in connection with πυρετός, and, more strikingly, in relation to the passage before us, by Galen of the bite of a rabid dog and of poison (Hobart, p. 289).

But if, in spite of the great authority of Zahn, we fail to find in the incident just narrated specific medical terms, there is in the incident which immediately follows ample justification for the same writer's description of the terms employed. While Paul is still at Malta the father of Publius lay sick (συνεχόμενον, 28:8) of fever and dysentery (πυρετοίς καὶ δυσεντερία). Of the participle we have already spoken (see above on Luke 4:38). It was constantly used by medical writers in connection with disease, and it is employed here precisely as in the gospel with the noun πυρετός. But it may be further noted that the use of the plural πυρετοί is quite medical, although it is found in other writers, as, e. g., in Demosthenes and Lucian. But, while each of the other evangelists uses the singular πυρετός, Luke alone introduces the noun in the plural number. The noun "dysentery," δυσεντερία, is also peculiar to Luke in the New Testament; but not only is it frequently found in medical writers in connection with πυρετός or πυρετοί, but Hippocrates furnishes us with a phrase very similar to this used by Luke (see above on Luke 4: 38).

Further, in the narrative of Paul's shipwreck we come across two or three words and phrases which are very suggestive, quite apart from the miraculous elements of the story. Thus Zahn, Vogel, and others call attention to the phrase ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν (Acts 27:3), rendered in R. V., margin, "to receive attention."

The noun is used in the same sense in the LXX, and frequently by Greek prose writers; but only by Luke in the New Testament. Here is a term which was constantly employed in medical phraseology for the care bestowed upon the sick; in Luke 10:34 occurs the only employment of the cognate verb ἐπιμε- $\lambda \epsilon i \sigma \theta a \iota$ , in a similar meaning, in the New Testament. There is another word in connection with the same incident (Acts 27:3) which, although it might no doubt be used by a cultured Greek, was at all events just the word which a medical man would introduce, "and Julius treated Paul kindly (φιλανθρώπως)." Certainly we have the same Greek phrase for "treating kindly" in classical Greek, and the adverb is used in 2 and 3 Maccabees. But in the New Testament this word is used by Luke alone, and the cognate noun φιλανθρωπία occurs in this same "we"-section, a noun used only once elsewhere in the New Testament, by Paul (Titus 3:4). This collocation of noun and adverb in Luke becomes more significant when we remember that, although both words are used in the LXX, medical writers spoke of their profession as the "philanthropic" profession, and of "philanthropy" as ever accompanying a physician's true love for his calling; and that a more generous diet provided for the sick was described as φιλανθρωποτέρα τροφή (Hobart, p. 296).

a doctor's expression. Sir J. Hawkins has remarked (Horae Synopticae, p. 153) that among the words which occur in the "we"-sections as being peculiar to them there are only two of importance, and that one of them is παραινῶ. Is it not quite conceivable that the medical usage and training of Luke may go far to account for the introduction of the verb twice in this passage, especially when we remember that included in Paul's words on this same occasion (27:33) we have the curious coincidence with the exact words of Galen to which Hobart and Zahn call attention: "This is the fourteenth day," says Paul, "that ye continue fasting," ἄσιτοι διατελεῦτε; and precisely the same collocation occurs in Galen: εἶ ποτε ἄσιτος διετέλεσεν.

At the same time it must be admitted that this last example shows us how careful we must be before concluding from such a coincidence, however noteworthy, that the writer in Acts was employing medical phraseology. This same collocation of aoutou and διατελείν is found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (see Wetstein, in loc.); he writes, ἄσιτοι οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀθεράπευτοι τὴν έσπέραν ἐκείνην διετέλεσαν. There are several of these striking combinations of words common to medical writers, to which Hobart (p. 34) draws attention; but they all require careful consideration. Thus in Acts 9:29 we read οί δὲ ἐπεχείρουν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν; in Galen we have the same collocation, which Hobart quotes (p. 210): ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰατρὸς ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχειρεῖ τὸ νόσημα; but in 3 Macc. 7:5 we have also the same collocation, ἐπεχείρησαν άνελεῖν. It should, however, in fairness also be noted that ἐπιχειρείν and ἀναιρείν are words frequently employed by medical writers, that the former is used only by Luke in the New Testament, and that the latter, as Zahn notes, is used by him no less than twenty-one times, as against three in the other New Testament books. So, again, the word ἀνάπηρος is used by Luke alone in the New Testament twice in one passage (Luke 14:13, 21), in close combination with χωλός and τυφλός, but the same combination of the same words is also found in Plato (Crito, p. 53 A), and a parallel to the use of ἀπαλλάσσω in connection with vóros (Acts 19:12) may also be found in a similar combination in Plato (Eryx., 401 C).

Further, both Hobart and Zahn call attention to Luke's use (Acts 21:39) of ἄσημος with πόλις, "a citizen of no mean city." In medical language the adjective was used of a disease having no distinctive symptoms, and it is applied to a city by Hippocrates in the same sense as by Luke. But the term occurs two or three times in the LXX, and Euripides uses it of Athens (Ion, 8). So, again, the verb ἐπιχειρείν is not only used by Luke alone in the New Testament, but Hippocrates begins his treatise De Prisca Medicina in very similar terms to Luke 1:1, ὁκόσοι ἐπεχείρησαν περί ἐητρικῆς λέγειν ἡ γράφειν; and Galen, too, commences one of his treatises very similarly. Here, again, we find a word used frequently in technical medical phraseology, and used in Luke's writings in a secondary sense; but we must remember that Josephus (Contra Apionem, 2) employs the verb very much as Luke and Hippocrates have done when he writes, οί τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιχειρήσαντες συγγράψειν.

But with all deductions the fact still remains that in Luke, and in Luke alone among the New Testament writers, this frequent recurrence of medical words and phrases is found; and, without dwelling upon such words as παρακολουθείν, ἀκριβώς, διήγησις in Luke's preface (the first two words are found combined, not only in Galen, but in Josephus, while the third was constantly used by medical writers to denote, not only medical treatises, but also those on other subjects), it must always remain a significant fact that no less than ten or twelve words peculiar to Acts are also found in the preface to the treatise of Dioscorides, De Materia Medica. It is not merely the number of words that is significant, but also the fact, to which Zahn, J. Weiss, and Vogel call attention, that Dioscorides was born and lived at Anazarbus, in Cilicia, about fifty miles from Tarsus. Further, he was a contemporary of Luke and possibly a fellow-student in the famous university of Tarsus, inasmuch as he was at work between 40 and 60 A. D. At no great distance off the Carian coast there was one of the oldest and greatest of the medical schools of antiquity; it was on the island of Cos, the birth-place of Hippocrates in the fifth century B. C., and not only his birth-place, but the home and the scene of his medical practice. It is not, therefore, surprising, but perfectly natural, that a similarity of diction should characterize the writings of Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Aretæus, Galen, and, we may add, of Luke the physician, trained, as they all probably were, in the medical schools of Asia Minor (Hobart, op. cit., p. 31, and Plummer, Commentary on St. Luke, p. 6). It is a very suggestive thought that Paul, Luke, and Dioscorides may all have been students together at Tarsus; and closely allied with this is the further possibility that the friendship of Paul and Luke may account for the peculiar and frequent use of medical terms in the pastoral epistles (see Findlay, Epistles of Paul, p. 213, and Plumptre, Expositor, Ser. I, Vol. IV, pp. 134 ff.).

The result, then, of our inquiry seems to be that the rich vocabulary of the writer of the third gospel and of Acts points to two facts: (1) that this author was a cultured, well-read Greek; (2) that he was also a medical man. This combination fairly accounts for the peculiarities which we have noted, viz., the frequent use of classical writers and of the LXX, as also of words and phrases markedly characteristic of, if not peculiar to, the great medical writers of antiquity. Dr. Blass, in his Philology of the Gospels, p. 186, asks this question: Must we not accept it for a certainty that Luke the physician of Antioch had read his Homer? And to this we may venture to add another question: Must we not accept it for a certainty that Luke the physician had read his Hippocrates? In the writings of the historian Polybius we find many of Aristotle's philosophical terms, employed not in the technical sense of the schools, but in a secondary and looser meaning, and it has been urged that this might be explained by the philosophic cast of the historian's mind. And if we find in the third gospel and in Acts a whole series of words frequently employed in medical language and in medical treatises, but used in these New Testament books in a secondary and less technical meaning, is it unfair to infer that their constant presence points to the hand of a medical man, trained in the medical schools, and conversant with medical terms?

# AN ILLUSTRATOR OF THE FIFTH GOSPEL: DR. WILLIAM M. THOMSON.

By REV. HENRY CLAY TRUMBULL, D.D., Philadelphia.

Renan felicitously called Palestine the "fifth gospel." An understanding of it is certainly essential to an understanding of the four gospels, and its characteristics fully confirm their truthfulness. The unchanging land, and the unchanging people with their unchanging customs and modes of speech, enable one to understand the better what is recorded of the sayings and doings of Jesus in the land and among the people where he dwelt and labored in all the years of his earthly life. As a knowledge of the Old Testament is requisite to a proper understanding of the New Testament, so a knowledge of the characteristics and peculiarities of Palestine, or the "fifth gospel," with the manners and customs of the people of that land, which are much the same now as they were in the days of Jesus, is requisite to an understanding of the four historic gospels, with their message of life to dying men.

Many missionaries and travelers in all the Christian centuries have noted facts and supplied information tending to throw light on the pages of the New Testament by making the world better acquainted with Palestine and its people, and thus to enable all to profit by the teachings of the "fifth gospel." But it is unmistakably true that in the nineteenth century Christian missionaries have done more in this line than was done in twelve centuries before. And among these missionaries Americans have been foremost in gathering the needed facts, and in so presenting them as to make them helpful to the ordinary occidental reader.

Among these foremost helpers stands Rev. Dr. William M. Thomson, to whom the Christian world is indebted, and is <sup>1</sup>Copyright, 1902, by H. CLAY TRUMBULL.

glad to acknowledge its indebtedness, for his most important and helpful work, The Land and the Book; or, Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land. On this account, even if there were no other reason, American Bible lovers and friends of the missionary cause should be glad to know something of this devoted and helpful missionary in the East.

Dr. William M. Thomson was born in Ohio in 1806. At that time Ohio was "way out west" to New England, but today it it is "well down east" to the real western states. Yet Ohio was always in one sense a New England state, a portion of it being actually known as "New Connecticut." The best characteristics of New England were found in the people of Ohio. Young Thomson was inclined to study. Having prepared himself for college, he entered Miami University, and he was graduated in 1826. He spent three years at Princeton Theological Seminary, and then offered himself as a missionary to the American Board. Being accepted, he was sent to Jerusalem, where he labored in 1832 and 1833. He then went to Beirût, which from that time was the center of his active missionary labors for forty-three years.

The earlier years of Dr. Thomson's labors in Syria and northern Palestine were formative years in that important field, and Dr. Thomson did good service in organizing local churches and schools and in preaching and teaching. Notwithstanding the fact that there were disturbances between the different Syrian sects, nine schools were kept up at Beirût and one at Jerusalem, while several outside stations were occupied successfully. Abeih is a mountain village about fifteen miles south of Beirût, facing the sea, with villages in all directions about it. Two rooms were fitted up for a chapel in a house at Abeih, occupied by Dr. Thomson, and there a service in Arabic was kept up for several years. A good Sunday school was held between the services. In this field Dr. Thomson did excellent work, and his influence for good was very great. Both Druses and Maronites of the outside population came to value this local missionary work and to appreciate the spirit and worth of the good men

who conducted it. They even consulted them concerning their own difficulties. It was said that Dr. Thomson had more friendly intercourse with the Maronite priesthood during his first residence at Abeih than during all his previous missionary life.

Thus what is thought to be peculiarly missionary work preaching and teaching and organizing and training, and distributing the Scriptures and appropriate religious literature —was kept up actively and effectively by Dr. Thomson for all the years of an ordinary generation. Yet he did more; he did other work than all this. And the same, indeed, can be said of almost any other effective missionary or good Christian worker of any sort in the home or the foreign field. Rarely does any man do one work well who does not attempt anything outside of that one work. No man even reads or studies to advantage unless he interests himself, as a means of added power and of added good, in other lines than that which he deems the most important. "Prayer and provender [and needed rest and added good work] hinder no man." While Dr. Thomson did a faithful and devoted missionary's work in the line of what is ordinarily understood as missionary work, he has helped Bible students the world over by the light he has thrown by his writing on the Bible pages as studied by Christians at home.

Hardly any Bible lover in Great Britain or America would count his library reasonably complete or himself well furnished for Bible study or Bible teaching unless he had access to Dr. Thomson's The Land and the Book. And young people think more of the Bible if they have the privilege of reading that book as they read or study the Bible. All realize more fully since that book was written the value of the land of which it tells, as throwing light on the Book of books which it treats. In an article, written at my request by Dr. Thomson for the weekly help to Bible study which I had the privilege to edit, he said on this very subject:

"A celebrated French writer [Renan], although a sadly skeptical one, says that he found the land to be a veritable fifth gospel, explaining and supplementing the other four. In many respects it is more than this. It illustrates and corroborates the

whole blessed Bible." Speaking of the numberless particulars in which the land tends to strengthen confidence in the truths of the Book, he says: "They were gathered into the land for that very purpose, and so arranged as most effectually to accomplish it. The divine Author of revelation, when he came to complete and fulfil it, did not need to create a new world in order to obtain the materials necessary to the accomplishment of his mission. He found them all there in Palestine ready to be appropriated; and we too have them to explain and enforce his divine teachings."

And, in the good providence of God, it was Dr. William M. Thomson who, while he was a missionary in that very land preaching the gospel to non-believers there, brought out so clearly the facts that illustrate this truth for the benefit of doubters and of glad believers in this home Christian land. And this is another evidence of what we have gained from foreign missions and missionaries. As to the relative importance of this piece of work by Dr. Thomson, the Bibliotheca Sacra says of it: "If the Syrian mission had produced no other fruit, the churches which have supported it would have received in this book an ample return for all they have expended . . . . It is a book of travels, a book of conversations, a running comment on the Scriptures, and a pictorial geography and history of Palestine all in one." It was hardly less popular and useful in England than in America; and it was but a forerunner of a number of other books by other eastern travelers in the same general field; but that only made it the more valuable. Dr. Thomson was nearly fifty years gathering the material for this volume; and yet it was only an added item beyond what is called a missionary's chief work in his field.

In 1877 Dr. Thomson returned to America. For some time he lived with his son, a prominent physician and an instructor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York city. The veteran missionary was engaged at the time in an enlarged edition of his great work on Palestine and Syria, richly illustrated, afterward published in New York and London. His son conducted for years a large and most interesting Bible class on

Sunday afternoons in the hall of the Young Men's Christian Association. Many medical students and adult Christian men, as well as others desirous of Bible knowledge, were in the habit of attending that Bible class. As the leader was born in the Holy Land and had been brought up there, the Bible was a living book to him in its setting and in its contents, and he could present its facts and teachings most vividly.

It was good to meet the author of *The Land and the Book* when he came back from the foreign field in the maturity of his vigorous age. He was then only a little more than threescore and ten, and his brain and heart were still bearing fruit in age. His training and habit of thought, together with his lovely and loving spirit, made him easy and winsome as a conversationalist, and his words out of rich experience made him ever an instructive speaker.

His later years were passed with relatives in Denver, Colo., and I had occasion to know some years after he passed away that his memory was there kept green and precious by all who knew him as he was. His earthly life closed in Denver, in 1894. He was a cosmopolitan in his life-course: born and reared near the Alleghany range, the larger portion of his life was passed at the foot of the mountains of Lebanon; he closed his eyes to earth on the slope of the Rocky Mountain range; and he opened his spiritual eyes upon the eternal hills of God. He was favored to live such a life, to die such a death, and to do so much for all of us—whom he loved because we are loved of God.

### Notes and Opinions.

Luke 17:10, "We are unprofitable servants."—The interpretation of the passage Luke 17:7-10, which is in fact a parable, has given rise to no little discussion. It seems to have obtained its present position in the gospel of Luke as a result of compilation, so that one cannot feel sure that the context is a guide to its meaning. The two verses which immediately precede them deal with the question of faith. The disciples ask Jesus to increase their faith, and he replies in substance that faith is obtained by having it, not by receiving it from someone else; that they should be full of faith, rather than expect someone to make them so. The parable may stand in a logical relation to the thought here expressed, and it is indeed probable that the evangelist saw such a relation to exist in putting them into juxtaposition. It does not follow, however, that Jesus must have spoken the two sayings at the same time, and in association with one another.

It is clear that in the words, "we are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do," the emphasis is not upon the term "unprofitable." This word is omitted from the verse in the Syriac palimpsest of the gospels which was recently discovered by Mrs. Lewis at the monastery on Mount Sinai. It is not to be supposed at once that the term did not therefore originally stand in this connection; but its absence from this witness gives support to the view otherwise suggested that the essential idea of the statement rests in the term "servants," as explained by the remainder of the verse.

It is obvious at once that the parable is not meant to teach an economic law as to how householders should treat their servants. Instead, Jesus has taken an illustration from actual life known to him where the existing practice of masters with their slaves was such as he has described, and out of this social condition he has drawn a figure to illumine a truth concerning the relation between God and men. Nor is it to be understood that God sustains such a relation to men as that of master to slave, so that he is an exacting, harsh, and ungrateful lord, taking all that the slaves can perform as their merest due, and giving them nothing in return but the barest existence. Such a conception of God in his dealing with men is in entire disagreement with the view of God which Jesus has given in all his other teaching.

The parable seems to be directed primarily against the pharisaic conception of men's relation to God, whereby men by their religious performances, and in proportion to the amount of those religious performances, earned recognition and favor from God. By obeying his law they merited his blessings; or, in other words, they earned the right to the salvation which he offered them. From this point of view Jesus can only say that all that a man can be and all that a man can do simply fulfil the duty which he owes to God; that is, that a man cannot be too good or do too much. The ideal which Jesus holds up is so high, its claims are so many, and its obligations so exacting, that no one can hope to attain it at once. And so long as one does not obtain it, one is not in an attitude to demand or to deserve blessings from God on a commercial basis, for he cannot earn salvation until he has become all, and has done all, which God's will requires of him. Therefore the disciples of Jesus are not to imagine that the relation between themselves and God is that of servants who earn their maintenance by their work, but that of persons who receive as loving gifts the blessings which come to them from God.

God would have us to be sons in his heavenly family, not servants. The essential difference between sons and servants in the household is that the latter are entitled only to their existence, while the former share all the generous and loving blessings which the parent can bestow. In human families, children are not supposed to earn their living, but it is given them in the fullest, freest, and most loving way possible to the parents. In return for this parental kindness a child is expected to become and to do those things which are for his best and largest development. He is not to be idle, but is to work earnestly to attain his parents' ideal for him. And, on the other hand, he is to recognize the generosity and love with which his parents provide for him. So in God's household, those who would follow Jesus must act according to the same principles. They are to recognize all that comes to them as free and loving blessings from their heavenly Father, unearned by themselves; and further, they are to devote themselves to attaining a higher character and performing a larger service than any servant would or could do. They are to devote themselves completely to the upbuilding of the kingdom in their own lives, and in the world about them.

By this relation between men and God which Jesus seems to be teaching in this parable we learn what our proper attitude as Christians should be toward God and toward one another. We are sons in God's great family, receiving our life and all our blessings and opportunities from him as free gifts of his love. But we do not assume that we earn these things. On the contrary, we recognize that we receive from him much more than we could possibly deserve. And also out of the love which produces in us a corresponding love and devotion we set ourselves to be and to do the best we can toward attaining God's purpose for ourselves and for others. In this passage, then, Jesus has developed the family idea as the most suitable figure to express his conception of how God deals with men, and of how men should understand him and live for the fulfilment of his purposes.

C. W. V.

The Sermon on the Mount. - In Professor B. W. Bacon's recently published address upon this discourse of Jesus he defends the general trustworthiness of the Matthæan account of the sermon: There was a real Sermon on the Mount, a discourse of Jesus to his disciples, worthy to be called the New Torah of the kingdom of God; because in it he set forth, with that clear consistency of thought and integrity of style so characteristic of the parables, the relation of morality and religion in the coming kingdom, to that of which the scribes and Pharisees were respectively the theoretical and practical exponents. But the discourse as a whole, if not positively anti-legalistic, is at least nonlegalistic. The sermon must be understood as the utterance, not of a legislator, but of a prophet. Jesus assumed personally the authority, not indeed to enact, but to make known the absolute divine law, as it must needs be under the ideal conditions of the kingdom he proclaimed. The fundamental nature of the discourse was not legislative, but prophetic. It does not enact, but interprets. It does not lay down rules, but opens up principles.

Long indeed was it before the church could apprehend this higher point of view. Even the polemic anti-legalism of Paul could not lift the dead weight of centuries of training under the conception of "moral government." We trace the reactionary tendency in the additions of the compiler of the Sermon on the Mount, evidenced by the variant report of Luke and by inherent inconsistency with the context; in further additions of scribes of mediæval times, evidenced by the variation of manuscripts; and, finally, in the unconscious additions of modern interpreters, all in the same direction, all assuming that after all Jesus, in this case, was a casuist and not a preacher; a legislator, not a herald of the glad tidings; that he taught rules of conduct rather than principles of religion.

# Exploration and Discovery.

Gezer and its Excavation.—The excavation of Gezer, which the Palestine Exploration Fund now has in hand, is attended with some circumstances of unusual interest. In the first place, this tell will be the first in Palestine to be thoroughly explored, all previous work having been comparatively superficial. Again, the place is now owned by those who will keep the excavation open and make the site accessible to tourists. The owners are members of the well-known banking firm of the Bergheims, Jerusalem, and the proximity of the tell to the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway favors their purpose. The thoroughness of Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister in work placed under his charge warrants a feeling of hopefulness that here and elsewhere nothing of value will be overlooked. The city of Gezer, too, was much more important than the places recently excavated, and the identification of the site is complete, as will presently be shown; but the remark of two aged clergymen that they had not heard of such a place may make a brief review of its history useful.

Very early knowledge of it is gained from the Tell Amarna tablets, which have no less than ten references to it. One is found in a letter from Makkedah, a neighboring city. This letter is numbered 112 Berlin, and reads in part:

To the King my Lord and my Sun, thus Labaya thy servant and the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord and my Sun seven times seven times I bow. . . . . I am myself a faithful servant, and I have not sinned, and I have not murmured at my tribute. . . . Lo! I strive with the city Gezer (Gazri).

The next letter to be cited is 63 British Museum.<sup>3</sup> This was sent from Gezer, and says:

I hear what the King my Lord has sent to me, and the King my Lord dispatches Egyptian soldiers to his servants, and the King my Lord dispatches them as guards.

This implies some expectation on the part of the Egyptian king that Gezer would need strengthening.

<sup>1</sup> Tell Amarna Tablets, translated by C. R. CONDER, second edition, London, P. E. Fund, 1894.

°P. 122. 3 P. 134.

Letter 109 Berlin4 is from Gezer, and declares that the land is peaceful.

asks for chariots, whether or not against the Hebrew invasion is not known. 62 British Museum<sup>6</sup> is apparently of the same time and is still more urgent in its request for chariots. 155 Berlin<sup>7</sup> mentions Gezer, but is imperfect. 50 British Museum<sup>8</sup> is more complete. It mentions the writer as "Yapa'a, the chief of the city of Gazri (Gezer), thy servant, the dust of thy feet, a chief captain of thy horse." Conder<sup>9</sup> refers to the fact that the king of Lachish in Joshua's time (Josh. 10:3) was called Japhia, and concludes that the names mean the same person, and that he was king of both places; but this is only an inference.

49 British Museum to is also from Yapa'a, who asks for help "against the chief of the men of blood."

51 British Museum " is also an appeal for help.

In letter 103 Berlin 12 we have an account from Jerusalem to the effect that Gezer has been captured and settled by invaders, whom Conder gives grounds for identifying with the Israelites.

Thotmes III., of the same dynasty with Amenhotep IV. of these tablets, but preceding him, conquered Gezer on his great expedition to the Tigris.<sup>13</sup>

The mentions of Gezer in the Bible begin at Josh. 10:33. It is not spoken of as one of the cities which combined against Gibeon and Israel, and it appears only in the statement, placed just after the fall of Lachish, that "Horam, king of Gezer, came up to help Lachish; and Joshua smote him and his people until he had left him none remaining."

This would imply that Gezer took no part in the battle of Ajalon, but sent a force to the relief of Lachish, which did not fall until the second day of siege, so that Lachish may have sent word to Gezer as soon as Joshua's force was seen approaching, and may have tried to hold out until relieved. The reinforcements from Gezer were too late to serve Lachish by an attack on Joshua, and only in time to be defeated by him. No doubt the five kings had expected to destroy Gibeon with ease, and therefore gathered no larger force. Joshua's arrival and assault threw

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P. 135. <sup>7</sup> P. 136. <sup>9</sup> Note, p. 137. <sup>11</sup> P. 138. <sup>18</sup> P. 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> MOORE on *Judges*, p. 48, refers on this point to MÜLLER (Asien u. Europa, p. 160).

them into confusion and prevented an orderly retreat. Thus Lachish was besieged suddenly; it could not appeal to the cities which had taken the field with it and were now trying to save themselves, and so sent for aid to Gezer which had lost no army at Ajalon.

Joshua did not turn back to besiege Gezer, but went on to Eglon, near by, and thence to Hebron. Gezer was not attacked at all, and we read in Josh. 16: 10 that the Ephraimites did not expel the Canaanites from Gezer, but let them remain. When the assignment of cities to the Levites was made, however, Gezer was given to the Kohathites, Josh. 21:21 and 1 Chron. 6:67. We do not hear of Gezer in the time of the Judges, but 1 Chron. 7:28 gives it a certain dignity as head of a district, by speaking of "Gezer with the towns thereof [literally daughters]." David, while sojourning with the Philistines, may have captured Gezer, though some understand differently the mention of Gerzites in 1 Sam. 27:8; 1 Chron. 20:4 refers definitely to Gezer in connection with David's wars, but some understand another name.

We find that Solomon saw great importance in Gezer, for we read that he built the temple and his own palace and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor and Megiddo and Gezer,

for Pharaoh, king of Egypt, had gone up, and taken Gezer, and burned it with fire, and slain the Canaanites who dwelt in the city, and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife (I Kings 9:15, 16).

From this it would appear that the city had maintained itself with little or no interference from the Israelites until the Egyptians conquered it for Solomon.

It is not named in the prophets, nor in the New Testament, lying as it did out of the way of those who passed from Egypt to Jerusalem, or from that city northward or eastward. It appears at once in the time of the Maccabees, because it lay right in the line of Syrian campaigns against Jerusalem. Judas had a great victory over Gorgias near there, and pursued his enemies unto Gazera (1 Macc. 4:15); and again Judas was victorious over Nicanor and pursued him from Adasa to Gazera and slew all the troops of Nicanor (*ibid.*, 7:45). Gazera became a Maccabean stronghold, and Jonathan fortified and provisioned it (*ibid.*, 9:52). Simon placed his son John there and made it the headquarters of the Jewish forces (*ibid.*, 13:53). Again, as affairs prospered with Simon, he improved Gazera (*ibid.*, 14:34). Timotheus took refuge there after being defeated by the Jews, and he endured a siege of four days, but the place yielded on the fifth and was the scene of a great massacre (2 Macc. 10:32-37).

Josephus speaks of the place as important just before the Christian era under the name Gadara (Wars, I, viii, 5). Under the name Gadara the Dominican monk Burchard, of Mount Sion, <sup>14</sup> mentions it in the thirteenth century, saying that the possession of Ephraim extended from the Jordan to Gadara. Saladin <sup>15</sup> was defeated there by the Christians in 1174, but in 1192 he encamped upon Mount Gizart during his negotiations with Richard for a truce. <sup>16</sup>

In our day it has stood, inviting excavation, a little to the south of the carriage road from Jaffa to Jerusalem and a little to the north of the railway. That it was a city site was long manifest from worked stones and fragments of pottery lying about, but it was reserved for M.



AN INSCRIPTION MARKING THE BOUNDARY OF GEZER.

Clermont-Ganneau fully to identify the site by finding its boundary inscriptions. He was led to the place by reading an old Arab chronicle which mentioned adjacent places. Later he visited the place again and found the Messrs. Bergheim clearing out the reservoir and making their possession good in other ways. He observed wine-presses, tombs, and steps cut in the rock to make approaches to former houses. The citadel stood in the center on the summit of the hill. 18

The next year the place was visited by Lieutenant Conder, who mentions the fine spring and "long walls of great unhewn blocks." Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake was also a visitor, and collected a few antiquities. Still later, in 1874, came M. Clermont-Ganneau again, and then he found a bilingual inscription on a horizontal slab, which read in Greek ΑΛΚΙΟ and in Hebrew הרום בור The first word he was led to refer to Alkios, governor of the city, who is named on a sarcophagus found at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Pilgrims' Texts, Vol. XII, p. 98. <sup>15</sup> Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> G. A. SMITH, Historical Geography of Palestine, p. 217.

<sup>17</sup> Quarterly Statement, P. E. Fund, January, 1873, p. 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid., 1874, p. 6. <sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 56. <sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 76. <sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 276-80.

Lydda, and whom he assigns to the time of the Maccabees.<sup>22</sup> The second part he reads as two words, viz., Did for Did, meaning "limit" or "boundary," and did, the name Gezer. Although the word ance of the interpretation and identification. Very unfortunately an attempt was made to cut out this and a similar inscription found on another corner of the city, which made much richly deserved trouble for the Frenchman (see partial account in *Archaelogical Researches*, pp. 224 ff.), and this may account for the unusual delay in granting the firman; but all difficulties are cleared away at last.

It is interesting to note that the director of the American School in Jerusalem has tendered his aid to Mr. Macalister, and thus that a share of the resulting reputation may fall to our new institution.

Professor G. A. Smith grows eloquent over Gezer:

Shade of King Horam, what hosts of men have fallen round that citadel of yours! Within sight of every Egyptian and every Assyrian invasion of the land, Gezer has also seen Alexander pass by, and the legions of Rome in unusual flight, and the armies of the Cross struggle, waver, and give way, and Napoleon come and go. If all could rise who have fallen around its base—Ethiopians, Hebrews, Assyrians, Arabs, Turcomans, Greeks, Romans, Celts, Saxons, Mongols—what a rehearsal of the Judgment Day it would be! Few of the travelers who now rush across the plain realize that the first conspicuous hill they pass in Palestine is also one of the most thickly haunted—even in that narrow land into which history has so crowded itself. Up none of the other valleys of the Shephebah has history so surged as up and down Ajalon and past Gezer, for none are so open to the north, nor present so easy a passage to Jerusalem.<sup>23</sup>

[Mr. Macalister began excavation at the site of Gezer on June 14 last, and has continued his work up to the present time. He ran a trench 40 feet wide from north to south across the eastern hill, the greatest depth being 18½ feet. At the last writing a second trench was begun, parallel with, and to the west of, the first. Many interesting finds are reported, all of high antiquity. The evidence indicates four successive occupations of the hill: (1) a pre-Semitic, probably neolithic race, who practised cremation; (2) an early Semitic race of the copper and early bronze age; (3) and (4) two later Semitic occupations, whose chronology is not yet determined. A most interesting account of the discoveries up to September 10 is contained in the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement for October, 1902, pp. 317-75.—Ed.]

THEODORE F. WRIGHT.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 1875, p. 57.

<sup>23</sup> Hist. Geog., p. 217.

# The Council of Seventy.

A CALL FOR A CONVENTION TO EFFECT A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELIGIOUS AND MORAL EDUCATION THROUGH THE SUNDAY SCHOOL AND OTHER AGENCIES.

We, the undersigned, members and associate members of the Council of Seventy, and others, believing—

1. That the religious and moral instruction of the young is at present inadequate, and imperfectly correlated with other instruction in history, literature, and the sciences; and

2. That the Sunday school, as the primary institution for the religious and moral education of the young, should be conformed to a higher ideal, and made efficient for its work by the gradation of pupils, and by the adaptation of its material and method of instruction to the several stages of the mental, moral, and spiritual growth of the individual; and

3. That the home, the day school, and all other agencies should be developed to assist in the right education of the young in religion and morals; and

4. That this improvement in religious and moral instruction can best be promoted by a national organization devoted exclusively to this purpose,

Unite in calling a convention, under the auspices of the Council of Seventy, to assemble in a city to be designated [Chicago<sup>1</sup>], in the month of February or March, 1903, for the creation of such a national organization, the convention to consist of (a) members and associate members of the Council of Seventy; (b) invited teachers, ministers, and editors; (c) invited pastors of churches and superintendents of Sunday schools.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fixed by vote of the Senate on October 13.

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<sup>1</sup> The Senate is able at this time to announce the election of Professor Frank K. Sanders, Ph.D., D.D., dean of Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn., to be Acting President of the Council of Seventy, in the place of the late beloved President John Henry Barrows, D.D., who was removed by death last June.

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# Book Reviews.

A Dictionary of the Bible. Dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A. Vol. IV, Pleroma-Zuzim. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. 994. Cloth, \$6; half morocco, \$8.

As in many another encyclopædic work, the material of this Bible Dictionary has overrun the number of volumes originally projected for it. While, therefore, this fourth volume concludes the alphabet, it is announced on the preface page that an extra volume will be published. It is to contain "certain subsidiary articles of importance," i. e., some of the longest articles which alphabetically fell to Vol. IV have been reserved for Vol. V; and also indexes to the entire work will be furnished. It is expected that this concluding volume will be published early in 1903. The editor and the publishers are deserving of the most appreciative gratitude of all Bible students for having brought so nearly to completion, and with such remarkable success, one of the greatest undertakings in modern book-making, and one of the best contributions to the advancement of religious thought.

The admirable typographical features of the *Dictionary* have been sufficiently described in the review of the earlier volumes, as also the general position of the work in matters of criticism and the corps of contributors. The present volume strongly confirms the opinion already expressed that this *Dictionary* furnishes the best obtainable résumé of scholarly conservative views in all biblical thought, and that it can be fully recommended as the most valuable of all reference-books for popular Bible study. What Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* has been to the past generation, Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* will be to the present generation. No such work is likely to be again attempted within twenty-five years. Of course, no sensible person will suppose that the articles contained in these volumes set forth "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." We are not, in fact, in possession of the truth in any such absolute way. But, taking the *Dictionary* all through, there

<sup>1</sup>Vol. I was reviewed in the BIBLICAL WORLD for August, 1898, pp. 129-33; Vol. II in November, 1899, pp. 375-84; and Vol. III in February, 1901, pp. 141-8.

will be found a better scholarship, a clearer vision, and a larger grasp of truth than have yet been attained in any similar work. It presents a plane of thought concerning the Bible to which every sincere student should rise, and from which he should set forth to conquer new and higher truth. The next forty years may antiquate Hastings's Dictionary by their advance in biblical and religious learning, as the past forty years have antiquated Smith's Dictionary by the same process. But, even if that should be the case, we must keep up with this progress as best we can, each in his own generation moving forward with the scholars to the measure of his ability.

It is not possible to give a résumé of even the greater articles which constitute the present volume, nor is it necessary at this time to review them. They must be studied, if one would understand their contents. In interest and importance they are scarcely surpassed by those of previous issue.

For the Old Testament the leading article is certainly that by the late Professor A. B. Davidson on "Prophecy and Prophets," occupying twenty pages, and recognized to be one of the finest productions of this eminent Scotch scholar. Professor Baudissin, of the University of Berlin, writes upon the "Priests and Levites" (thirty pages); Professor Driver, of the University of Oxford, on the "Sabbath;" Professor W. P. Paterson, of the University of Aberdeen, on "Sacrifice" (twenty pages); Professor T. W. Davies, of Bangor, Wales, on the "Temple" (twenty-two pages); Professor Eberhard Nestle, of Maulbronn, on the "Septuagint" and on the "Book of Sirach;" Professor H. L. Strack, of the University of Berlin, on the "Text of the Old Testament;" Professor A. S. Peake, of Manchester, on "Unclean, Uncleanness;" Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, of the University of Edinburgh, on "Weights and Measures;" Professor Karl Budde, of the University of Marburg, on "Hebrew Poetry" (ten pages); Professor W. Nowack, of the University of Strassburg, on the "Book of Proverbs" and the "Book of Zechariah;" Professor W. T. Davison, of Birmingham, on the "Book of Psalms" (sixteen pages); Professor R. Flint, of the University of Edinburgh, on "Solomon;" Professor I. W. Rothstein, of the University of Halle, on the "Song of Songs;" and Professor C. Siegfried, of the University of Jena, on the "Book of Wisdom."

For the New Testament the leading articles are those by Professor William Sanday, of the University of Oxford, on the title "Son of God" (nine pages); by Professor Driver, also of Oxford, on the title

"Son of Man" (ten pages); and by Professor F. C. Porter, of Yale University, on the "Book of Revelation" (twenty-six pages). In addition to these, Principal A. Robertson of King's College, London, writes on the "Epistle to the Romans" (eleven pages); Professor Walter Lock, of the University of Oxford, on the "Epistles to the Thessalonians" and the "Epistles to Timothy and Titus;" Professor Nestle on the "Text of the New Testament" and on the "Syriac Versions;" Rev. H. J. White, of Oxford, on the "Vulgate Versions;" Professor W. Bacher, of Budapest, on the "Sanhedrin" and "Synagogue;" and Rev. F. H. Woods on "Quotations."

In the field of biblical theology also there are some contributions of special value. Professor Driver writes on "Propitiation" (five pages); Professor John Laidlaw, of New College, Edinburgh, on the "Psychology" of the Bible; Professor John Skinner, of the University of Cambridge, on "Righteousness in the Old Testament," with the corresponding article for the New Testament by Professor G. B. Stevens, of Yale University; Professor O. C. Whitehouse, of Cheshunt College, on "Satan;" Professor B. B. Warfield, of Princeton University, on "Predestination" (sixteen pages); Rev. A. Adamson, of Dundee, Scotland, on "Reconciliation;" Professor J. V. Bartlet, of Mansfield College, Oxford, on "Regeneration" and "Sanctification;" Rev. E. R. Bernard on "Resurrection" and "Sin;" and Professor W. A. Brown, of Union Theological Seminary, New York, on "Salvation."

It will be obvious from the list of names and titles just given that we have here an encyclopædic treatment of some of the most vital subjects in biblical and religious study, by some of the greatest scholars of England, Germany, and America. Every minister and thoughtful layman should possess himself—at any sacrifice—of a work which can be "the making of him" intellectually and spiritually. If it has hitherto been possible to excuse one's self for adhering to traditional views on the ground that scholars had not reached a consensus of opinion or made their learning accessible to the people, this excuse is now removed by the Hastings Dictionary of the Bible. Henceforth popular ignorance of the Bible must be attributed to a lack of individual opportunity, or to a lack of desire, to know.

It may be useful to our readers, in order that they may see that this estimate of the work is the general one, to quote from the London *Guardian*, the most influential paper of the Church of England, a statement which appeared in its issue of August 6:

We have no hesitation in recommending Hastings's Bible Dictionary to

students of the Bible as the best work of the kind which exists in English. More liberal than Smith's Dictionary of forty years ago, more conservative than Chevne's Encyclopædia, it may fairly claim to combine the frankest and most candid criticism with absolute loyalty to the essentials of the Christian faith. Its publication seems to us to mark an epoch for two reasons. It is the first great theological work which has for many years been produced in the United Kingdom by the united labors of scholars of various "denominations." Such an enterprise would have been impossible of realization half a century ago, for there was not then the camaraderie among scholars, the mutual trust and confidence among theologians of diverse schools, that happily exist today. We wish that Dr. Hastings could have included in his list of contributors some Roman Catholic scholars of eminence; but we suppose that this was impracticable. As matters stand, however, we have Anglicans and Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians, the Established and the Free Churches of Scotland, all furnishing contributions. And this is a circumstance which enkindles thankfulness and hope - thankfulness that there is already so large a measure of agreement among the leaders, however loudly their followers may quarrel, and hope for a fuller realization among Christian men of the unity of the faith.

Again, Hastings's Dictionary marks an epoch because it will serve to acquaint the rank and file of Christian students with the methods and the provisional results of that "higher criticism," both of the Old and New Testaments, which too many of them have been taught to look upon with suspicion and dislike. They may depend upon it that the instrument of criticism will never again be laid aside by learned students of the Bible; and it is high time that the public should cease to use the title "critic" as a term of reproach. The dictionary which we have been considering is likely to do more for the cause of reverent and candid criticism than any other half-dozen books published of late years in the English language. For the criticism is, in the large majority of the articles, thoroughly sane, and restrained by a due sense of the seriousness of the subjects treated. It is fully recognized that many of the results which have been reached can only be regarded as provisional. Indeed, curiously enough — whether by accident or by design — the last words of the last article in the last volume warn us, in reference to a particular problem, that it "must be left an open question." The words are those of Dr. Driver, and they are characteristic, not only of the man, but of the general tone of the book for which he has done so much good work. There are many theological problems of the second order of importance which "must be left an open question," and it is better to say so frankly than either to foreclose inquiry on the one side by appealing to an uninstructed and generally unauthoritative tradition, or on the other side to insist that the most novel and the most startling solution is the last word of biblical science.

In similar terms the Hastings Dictionary has been approved and

recommended by almost every reviewer. If good advice can avail, this work will create a new era of biblical intelligence.

THE EDITORS.

Demonic Possession in the New Testament. Its Relations, Historical, Medical, and Theological. By William Menzies Alexander, M.D. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. 306. \$1.50, net.

Psychic Research and Gospel Miracles. A Study of the Evidences of the Gospel's Superphysical Features in the Light of the Established Results of Modern Physical Research. By Rev. Edward M. Duff, M.A., and Thomas G. Allen, M.D. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1902. Pp. 408. \$1.50, net.

The practically simultaneous appearance of these two volumes indicates the interest, so apparent in other publications, in the psychology of religion. The two volumes are by no means duplicates, neither are they of the same worth. That of Dr. Alexander has method and considerable historical feeling. In it one may find a summary account of biblical demonology from the earliest Hebrew superstition, and also a somewhat full exposition of the medical aspects of such phenomena. The author holds that all cases designated "demoniac" belong to the category of lunacy or idiocy, but also believes that there were forms of "possession" in which in addition real demons were concerned. The test to be applied he holds to be that whatever is explicable on the principles of modern science is to be regarded as natural; all else as supernatural. This seems to us to presuppose a finality in present scientific results which is hardly warranted. Pathological psychology is still in its infancy. As a further test he holds that those truly demonized confessed Jesus as the Messiah and were rebuked by him for so doing. The conclusion of the book is that "the incarnation initiated the establishment of the kingdom of heaven upon earth. That determined a counter-movement among the powers of darkness. Genuine demonic possession was one of its manifestations."

It is to be regretted that the author should not have more critically discussed the historicity of the narratives dealing with the phenomena of demoniac possession, and should have left all but unconsidered the possibility that the confession of Jesus as Messiah might have been due to some pathological condition that, like clairvoyance, was very susceptible to "suggestion." For lack of these elements the work can hardly be said to have added greatly to our knowledge of nervous dis-

eases, or to have carried the discussion of its subject into regions where it must sooner or later be carried. Its chief value, apart from its archæological material, lies in its persistent emphasis of the truth that demoniac possession is pathological and not moral.

The second of the two volumes attempts a defense of gospel miracles by a reworking of Hudson's theories, and an indiscriminate combination of spiritualism, Chinese demonology, and the proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research.

S. M.

A Primer of the Christian Religion, Based on the Teaching of Jesus, its Founder and Living Lord. By George Holley Gilbert, Ph.D., D.D. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 76. \$1.

There is no more pressing need in the church today than a suitable and adequate manual for religious instruction in the Sunday school and the home. This statement requires no proof here. Dr. Gilbert has sought to meet this need in his *Primer*.

The book consists of eighty-five questions with answers, references, and notes, printed on alternate pages, the intervening pages being left blank, presumably for convenience in making notes.

The merits of the book are easily stated. They are the general simplicity and pertinency of the questions, the clearness and intelligence of most of the answers, the avoidance of purely speculative subjects, and a pervasive spirit of reverence and faith. A single specimen may be given: "15. What did Jesus say about his teaching? Jesus said that his words should not pass away, and that whosoever would hear and do them should be like a house built upon a rock." A part of the note following this answer is: "The declaration of Jesus that one who does his word is as a house built on a rock hews an even and straight way through the multitudinous creeds and theologies of men."

The defects of the book soon appear to the careful observer. (1) It is called a *Primer of the Christian Religion*, but the references which are meant to support and illuminate the teaching are drawn almost exclusively from the four gospels. Yet the authentic epistles of Paul are earlier than the earliest synoptic record. (2) The fourth gospel is placed on a par with the synoptics as a record of Jesus' words and deeds. Critical questions cannot properly enter into a primer, but the primer should *implicitly* recognize the different historical values of documents. (3) While agreeably wanting in the abstract and dogmatic

elements so familiarly and predominantly present in most catechisms, this primer is deficient in explicit applications of truth to the moral life. For example: "63. What is it to follow Jesus in serving our fellow-men? To follow Jesus in serving our fellow-men means that, in a love born of God's love to us, we are to give our lives for the salvation of the world." The answer is less clear than the question. Again: "64. What are the followers of Jesus to the world? The followers of Jesus are the channel through which the light and power of the gospel come into saving contact with the world." This is all true, in a sense, but it is not clear and specific. (4) The references are inadequate and sometimes not pertinent. They seem to have been selected hastily and by an uncritical hand. Under question 8, "What did it mean to be called 'the beloved Son'?" one reference is to Psalm 2:7!! We marked nearly a score of questions under which the references are inadequate or irrelevant. In some instances the answers to the questions are also inadequate. The part of the book dealing with the "messianic" aspect of Iesus is especially unsatisfactory. The statement, under question 10, that "the Son of man" is "a title which on his lips was equal to Messiah," is open to serious doubt, in view of the fact that Jesus spoke Aramaic. Under question 58 the references are misplaced; the second line should be first.

Despite all necessary abatements, the book is more than a good attempt; it is so good that we desire to see it made better. As it is, it is an improvement, in form and quality, on most, if not all, of the handbooks that thus far have appeared. It is a strong move in the direction of "the simplicity that is in Christ."

PHILIP STAFFORD MOXOM.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

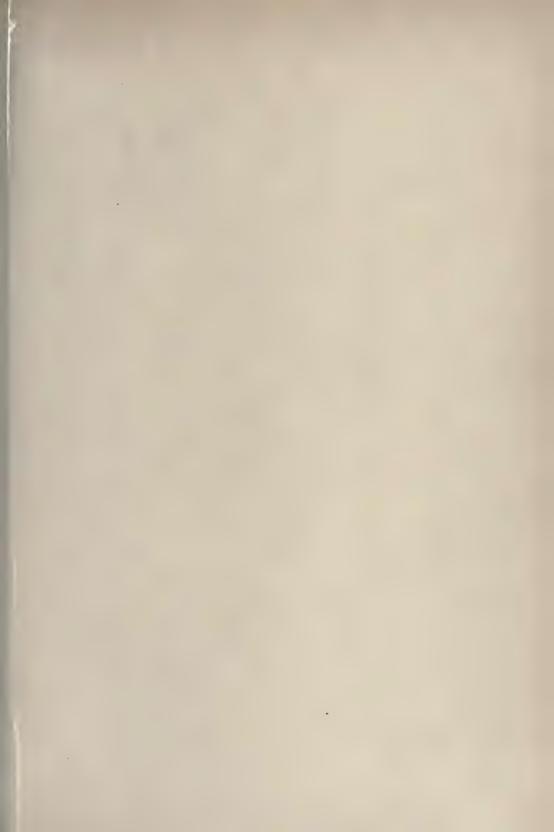
Christ and Life. By ROBERT E. SPEER. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1902. Pp. 230. \$1.

After an introductory chapter on the lordship of Christ, Mr. Speer descends at once to particulars. He exalts the functions of the will in personal religious experience, and gives a wholesome warning against too much dependence on feeling. In the chapter on prayer he seems to plead for long seasons of lonely devotion, and comes perilously near advocating excessive familiarity with God in an illustration of the "quaint Italian" who spoke to God as "my papa in heaven." He quotes Ruskin pertinently urging that the best hour of the day be given to the Bible. He will not, we think, get the approval of the

mass of earnest Christians when he advocates "reading the Bible through in course, frequently," even though it may be done "in a year with two chapters on week days and eleven on Sunday." The counsel, "Study the questions which Bible scholars deal with," is good. The author sets forth in another chapter the decisive way in which Jesus reversed human judgments on cause and effect, on the dignity of labor, and on the worth of life. One may not doubt that "a principle is a principle always and in all things," but such a statement pressed to its logical extremity in "Always and in All Things" may justify the crank and fanatic. The chapter on "Publicity of the Secret Life" is wholly admirable. Sooner or later the heart of a man will express itself consciously or unconsciously. One cannot keep too clear of the need of concealment. When concealment is felt to be necessary "the bloom of life is gone." Under the theme "A Christian's Friends" he wisely pleads for friends among the lowly, friendship among books, and with certain great truths on which one may reflect, as the love of Christ, the lesson of the cross. The chapter "The Nobility of Wrath" against scandalous evil-doers is refreshing. It is an echo of the "strenuous life" now having a renascence in the church and out of it. It suggests the athletic field and healthy life. Mr. Speer quotes Huxley, in the chapter on "Every Man His Work," as saying: "Of all the people I have met, Chinese Gordon and Darwin are the two in whom I have found something bigger than ordinary humanity - a sublime unselfishness." And in "Duties and Interest" he protests against the habit of giving special rewards to men for doing their duty: "What a man ought to do he ought to do." Other chapters increase the size of the book, but they do not seem to add proportionately to its value. The book is weakened by ending too many chapters with verse, and by an excess of lengthy quotations. These assure us that the writer's reading has been wide and discriminating, but they obstruct the flow of the discourse.

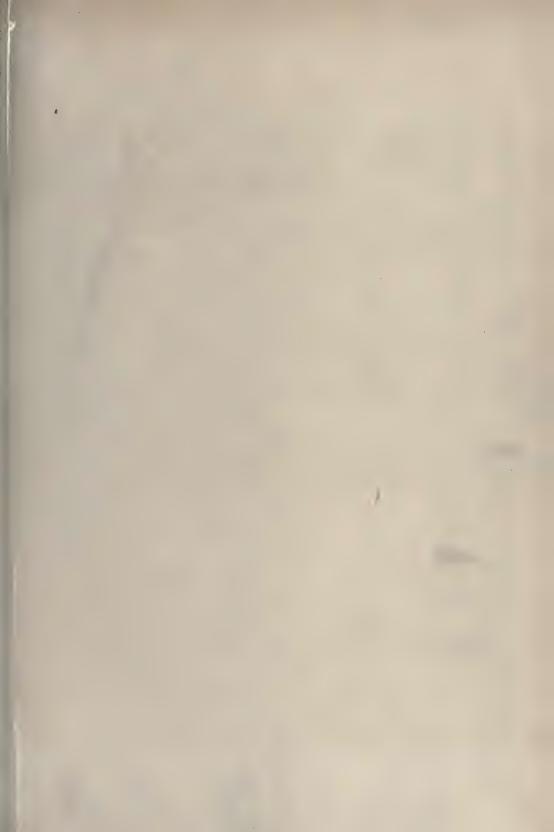
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THE WINDINGS OF THE JORDAN RIVER.





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# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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# THE RELIGIOUS EFFICIENCY OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL REFORM.

Is a Sunday school in which there are graded classes, a graded curriculum, and honest study unlikely to see its pupils converted and becoming members of the church? IS RELIGIOUS We can understand that many persons would object PEDAGOGY RELIGIOUSLY to having the issue so sharply drawn. Possibly it EFFECTIVE? might be put more euphemistically, but it is well —at least occasionally!—to look an issue squarely in the face. And unless we much misread current opinion as to the Sunday school, the real objection raised to most proposals for reform runs back finally to a fear that a decrease in religious efficiency will result from making instruction the teacher's primary aim. We are not speaking now of the demagogism that uses pious words and appeals to pious feelings for the purpose of buttressing financial interests, but of that sincere apprehension that is to be found in the great body of Sunday-school workers and their leaders. They fear to introduce the methods of the day school in the Sunday school, lest there be a substitution of learning for experience, of examination papers for conversions.

For our part we have great sympathy with such apprehensions. If we believed such results would follow from any proposed reform, we should oppose that "reform" to the limit of our ability. Knowledge is not virtue, and promotion in grades is not religious experience. As we conceive of the matter any Sunday school that attempts to substitute the one for the other is untrue to its mission.

But is it reasonable to expect that emphasis upon the educational function of the Sunday school is tantamount to religious sterility?

It must be admitted that the data upon which one can rely for an answer are not as numerous as might be wished. Though Sunday schools too frequently have not succeeded ARF in imparting much real knowledge to their pupils, CONVERSIONS DUE TO POOR they have none the less inculcated principles of INSTRUCTION? morality. Nearly any bright boy or girl will reply promptly and correctly to leading questions concerning the necessity of being good and loving God and serving Christ. In fact, as many a perplexed Sunday-school teacher can testify, the promptness of some very unruly and impertinent little pupil's reply is the most disheartening difficulty one has to face. It is indisputable also that Sunday schools have given thousands of new members to the churches. But tests made again and again in the high school or the college have shown that, not. withstanding their years of attendance at Sunday school, the very pick of these pupils have practically no accurate knowledge of even the least recondite biblical matters. They have been converted in the Sunday school, but they have hardly been instructed. Their Christian lives are tributes to the Christian character and persistent care, rather than to the pedagogy, of their teachers.

In the light of such facts it is only natural that many earnest Christian workers should favor letting well enough alone. So WHY NOT LET long as Christian characters result from present Well Enough methods, why change those methods? If conversions come from the personal influence exerted by a teacher during a half hour's miscellaneous conversation over religion, how may one know that an attempt to introduce the methods of the day school may not jeopardize this influence and consequently the pupil's future?

It is not enough to urge in reply that along with these conversions present methods make toward priggishness, indifference, and too frequently an abandonment of all connection with the church when the pupil arrives at maturity. Such phenomena certainly do result from ill-judged exhortation and unintelligent instruction, but they are liable always to continue in some degree as long as the teaching force of the Sunday school is volunteer and in many cases devoid of any serious sense of responsibility. Serious as the situation is, it can hardly be bettered by recrimination. The case should be settled on its merits. Will better instruction prove less effective religiously than poor instruction?

After all, however, we are not quite without data upon which to base opinion. There are in every Sunday school teachers HAS EXPERIENCE who not only exert a strong personal influence over their pupils, but who conscientiously study SHOWN THE their lessons and induce the members of their RELIGIOUS INEFFICIENCY OF GOOD TEACHING? classes to do the same. They are interested in the great truths of revelation, but they are also interested in the Bible as a channel of such revelation. Their interest begets interest, and their classes acquire biblical knowledge as well as religious inspiration. Would any person acquainted with the work of such teachers question that its results are more permanent than any other sort of teaching? Or that the pupils thus instructed are any more difficult to bring to a decision to lead religious lives, or are any more prone to indifference?

And, then, too, there is the steadily increasing number of Sunday schools in which a serious effort is being made to bring biblical instruction to the level, pedagogically speaking, of the day school—schools that grade, examine, actually teach their pupils. If the testimony that reaches us from such schools means anything, it is that throughout the entire body of pupils there is a deepening religious interest as well as a more thorough mastering of the Bible as a whole rather than of some particular texts.

And then we have the Bible as its own best witness. Does not a suspicion of the advisability of better study of its contents approach a suspicion of the power of truth? May it not be, if young minds were less entertained, less exhorted, less filled with stories, less distracted with "methods," that they would ARE WE AFRAID be the more ready to appreciate the progressive revelation whose record is so clear in the Scriptures? Is Religiously We have no quarrel with the institutionalizing of the Sunday school; on the contrary, every attempt to awaken esprit de corps appears to us most advisable. But all this must subserve instruction. It should never be made an end in itself. Unless one has a supreme confidence in the power of divine truth to accomplish its mission, it is idle to attempt to teach. But if one has such confidence, and if teaching is really worth while, why not teach in the right way, why not organize a school in ways which experience has shown makes teaching the more effective?

It is not to be supposed that to make instruction in biblical matters thorough means to attempt to turn a Sunday school into

WHAT CAN
THOROUGH
BIBLICAL
INSTRUCTION
ACCOMPLISH?

a theological seminary. Thorough instruction means that a child shall be taught as a child and a man as a man. Otherwise it would not be thorough. But one can see the great results which proper biblical instruction assures. It guarantees that the pupil

shall be taught something that will be worth remembering and will be remembered; that he shall be shown how to approach the Bible in ways he will not need to unlearn as soon as he begins to think seriously upon religious matters; that he shall be told how to distinguish principles from rules, history from poetry, fact from interpretation; that he shall be taught to love and follow the truths of the Bible because they are true and worth following; that he shall become acquainted with the Bible as literature in order that he may follow it as inspired of God; that he shall learn to appreciate the historical process through which this inspiration has expressed itself in order that the permanence of truth shall be distinguished from its changing application; and, finally, that he may be so affected by inspired teaching and inspired living that his own life shall grow into the likeness of the Christ he has met face to face in the pages of

the Gospels. There is a way in which these things may be accomplished, and that way is already blazed across education by modern pedagogy. Its methods are not needed because they are novel or a fad, but because they are based upon fundamental psychological facts. They may need adjustment and supplementing in the field of religious education, but they are certain to accomplish the desired results if once they are adopted. Will such methods and such effects make against or for religious experience?

If the Bible is what we all believe it to be, there can be no danger in attempting to instruct young minds in its truths.

WHY BE If pedagogy is worth anything, it is uneconomical not to employ it in such instruction. If religious truth has any power, there is no need to fear lest, if it be properly taught and properly studied, it will lose any of its capacity to bring boys and girls to a decision to stand for it and the God who gave it.

Why be apprehensive lest a good tree should fail to bring forth good fruit?

### THE JORDAN RIVER BETWEEN THE SEAS.

By REV. J. L. LEEPER, D.D., Chicago.

That the Jordan river maintains its identity as a stream, not mingling with the waters of the lake as it flows twelve miles through the Sea of Galilee, is a fable. It is soon lost in that body of water and issues anew from the exit at the southern end. At the debouchure it sweeps around a tongue of land to the right, and then turns southward. On this point was situated the city of Tarichæa, described by Josephus, but not mentioned in biblical history. A moat was cut from the lake to the river, thus surrounding by water the land on which the city stood. This city was attacked by the Roman navy under Vespasian and Titus. Thirty thousand of its inhabitants were sold into slavery, or distributed to amphitheaters for gladiatorial sports; and six thousand of the young men were put to work upon the canal, then projected across the isthmus of Corinth, but not completed until our own day.

The colossal ditch which the lower Jordan traverses is called the Ghor. The cleft is a most remarkable freak of nature, having no counterpart elsewhere. The breakdown of the immense chasm commences immediately north of the Sea of Galilee. South of that body of water it is a long narrow valley hedged in by mountains from eight hundred to fifteen hundred feet high upon the west, and two thousand feet high upon the east. At Beth-shean and north of Jericho the valley expands into a plain having a width of from eight to fourteen miles. At other points the approaching mountains seem almost to impinge. The great outflow of lava, familiar to every traveler in the region east and north of the Sea of Galilee, indicates volcanic disturbances which would account for the collapse.

Illustrated with photographs by the author.

The floor of the chasm exhibits the features of an old sea bottom. Conder supposes that the Red Sea once extended to the base of Mount Hermon, but that later occurred the upheaval of the watershed of Arabah, south of the Dead Sea, having an elevation of two hundred feet, which cut off a vast inland sea. Others suppose that this watershed is a continental divide, and



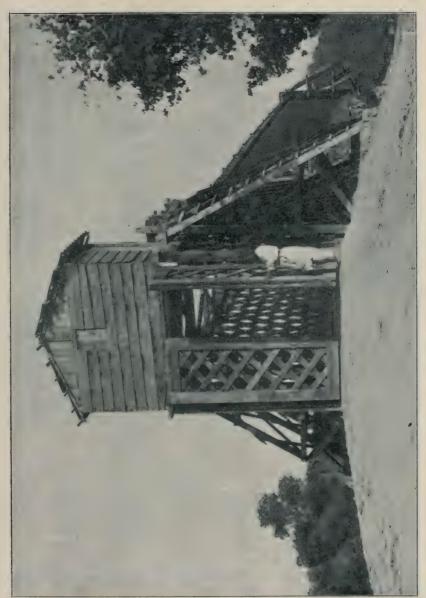
THE JORDAN RIVER AS IT LEAVES THE SEA OF GALILEE.

that the great inland lake of the Jordan valley was due, not to its connection with the Red Sea, but to the large rainfall of the glacial epoch. As the process of evaporation went on, the shore line of this shut-in body of water lowered. Along the northwest shore of the Dead Sea are successive shelves which have been recognized as former shores. These occur at thirty, and again at one hundred, feet above the present high water mark. Similar terraces have been observed north of Jericho and at Beth-shean. There can be little doubt that in these we see beaches of the former lake. Later still there would be a chain of great lakes connected by a river. Three of these—

Huleh, Galilee, and the Dead Sea—remain. The dry beds of others may be seen in the plains of Beth-shean and Jericho.

Through a groove, cut by nature in this old sea bottom, the river pursues a tortuous course. The Jordan is the most crooked river in the world, its windings reducing its fall to six feet in the mile. The frontispiece of this number, a picture taken some distance below the Sea of Galilee, presents this characteristic. So tortuous was the course of the river that, at the close of the second day after leaving Tiberias, the party of Lieutenant Lynch was only twelve miles distant in a straight line from the Sea of Galilee. In traversing the direct distance of sixty-six miles from the lake to the Dead Sea, it flows, on account of its many windings, two hundred miles. In the plain through which it flows, the river has cut for itself a still lower plain, about fifty or one hundred feet deep, and from a quarter of a mile to a mile in width. In this lower plain, which it inundates only in the rainy season, the river, one hundred feet or more wide, winds its way. It thus has two sets of banks-its lower, or ordinary, banks, and its upper, or secondary banks, which confine it at its overflow. Usually the stream varies in depth from three to twelve feet, but at high-water it is from ten to seventeen feet in depth. The water is clear where it leaves the lake, but is turned to a coffee color by mixing with the soil, which is stirred up by its rapid current. At one time it is a placid streamlet, softly laving the white-fringed clusters of the asphodel and the long, blooming tresses of the willow and the oleander; and, at another time, a mountain torrent, bounding, foaming, and tossing over the rocky bed. Here it maneuvers slowly over the rich, alluvial plain, and there again dashes swiftly between precipitous banks from fifteen to thirty feet high. Stranger creatures than wild beasts find lodging here. At one place I noticed from my boat a small, port-hole-like entrance in the solid sandstone, over twenty feet above the water. It was reached with difficulty by some notches cut in the rock, and was the home of a hermit.

The placid Jordan, as seen by the tourist opposite Jericho, is not its characteristic flow. It fully merits its derivative mean-



MODERN BRIDGE OVER THE JORDAN ABOVE JERICHO.

ing, "Descender." Numerous rapids and cataracts obstruct its navigation, some of which have a fall of from ten to fifteen feet. At its entrance into the Dead Sea it is thirteen hundred feet lower than its fountain-head at the foot of Mount Hermon. The American exploration party (1848), under the command of Lieutenant Lynch, are the only persons who have successfully navigated the entire lower Jordan. It is true that Lieutenant Molyneux, of the English navy, passed down the river the previous year; but, the river not being in flood as in the former case, his boats had often to be carried. Besides, because of his notes being in cipher and his untimely death, resulting from exposure, the results of his observations were never imparted to the world. In passing these rapids Lieutenant Lynch's party sometimes lowered the boats by ropes. Again they made the leap boldly, trusting to fortune and the skilful hand that guided them; at other times they sprang overboard and clung to the sides of the boat to steady it in the descent. A member of the party, in giving the account of the passage of one of these rapids, says:

Presently we came near to the ruins of a bridge in the immediate vicinity of which was a steaming rapid and a steep and dangerous fall. Over this we had to pass somehow or other; there was no circumnavigating it; the fall was there, and we must dash over it at all hazard. We thought it right, however, first of all, to unload the boats on the banks, and then, "neck or nothing," firmly brave the danger; the word "Ready!" was given—every precaution was taken—and with a thrilling interest the undaunted "Yankee boys" guided the copper boat—for she took the lead—into the stream; and away they went, dashing ahead, all hands ready to jump overboard if she should strike the rocks and come "broadside on" to the edge of the fall, and so slew round and capsize. But, despite all their forethought and skill, "she struck," and slewed round with all hands in her, and dash she went into the midst of the fall. At this dangerous moment the little gig (the boat purchased at Tiberias) came over the rapid, jumping like a parched pea, and, dashing at us, struck our boat "amidships," threatening to break us in two. We fortunately received no injury, but the poor little gig was broken to pieces. Then the iron boat dashed into the midst of the stream, and leaped the dangerous fall without sustaining any damage.

In autumn there are numerous fords, at which, in Bible times, the river seems to have been crossed (I Sam. 13:7; 2 Sam.

10:17). But David and Barzillai were conveyed across it in a ferry boat. In later days bridges were built, several of which, as early as Roman times, are marked by scanty ruins. There are four principal fords, and one modern bridge which spans the lower Jordan. The Damieh ford is at the mouth of the Jabbok, and the ford of Abarah just north of and beneath Beth-shean.



THE PLAIN OF THE JORDAN AT JERICHO.

This latter is identified by Conder as Bethabara. This is where the men of Jabesh-gilead crossed to recover the bodies of Saul and his sons. Just north of where the river enters the Dead Sea is the ford of the pilgrims. Just north of the mouth of the Yarmuk is a ferry.

The mountains toward the west rise abruptly from the plain in naked pyramidal crags, each scar and fissure as plainly distinct as if it were within reach, and yet miles away; the laminations of their strata resemble the leaves of some gigantic volume, wherein is written, by the hand of the divine scribe, the history of the changes time has wrought. The floor of the valley presents a

wild and checkered tract, with spots of vegetation flourishing upon the frontiers of irreclaimable sterility. The soil in the valley is a rich, dark loam, interrupted by stretches of sand, clay, and salty marl, the débris of an old sea bed. With the exception of these poison spots, it is capable of great productivity wherever brought into touch with water. I remember with vividness sauntering along a brook, whose banks were covered with flowers, plants, and shrubs in great profusion. The oleander and tamerisk waved overhead, while near by were stretches of barley and millet. But beyond the stimulus of the water the ground was quickly changed into a desert covered with a growth of thorny nubk. The Jordan itself probably flows on too low a level to be useful for irrigation, but there are affluents which might be so used; and that they were so used the remains of aqueducts, especially in the region of Jericho, attest. This plain of Jericho must have been other than it now is - a waste, howling wilderness—when the infatuated Antony bestowed it as a love token upon Cleopatra.

A most exuberant growth of jungle marks the river throughout its whole course. This jungle at Dan was declared by the explorer, McGregor, to be impenetrable by man or beast. Knowing that it is the lair of the wild boar, leopard, panther, and other beasts, it was with some hesitancy that I accepted the challenge. At several points I made the attempt, but without success. I tried it along the river's margin, but the growth was so close to the water's edge as to render progress impossible. Finally, with the aid of a Bedouin's nabooty, a club studded with nails and carried in that region, I demonstrated that McGregor was right. It could not be penetrated. Its density compelled me often to walk over as well as through the tangled brush, but in this way I succeeded in reaching the inmost depths, and stood by the boiling fountain.

At a recent visit I regretted to find much of the jungle at that point cut away. Along the lower Jordan this growth occupies the upper bed of the river, which is inundated at the overflow. Saving a few open spaces, where the river may be approached, this is packed with a most luxuriant growth of willows, oleanders,

tamerisks, and other semi-tropical plants; the more impenetrable because of the slimy bottom and driftwood that is lodged within it. The stream itself is often quite hidden by this dense thicket, and as one speeds down its current his pathway is cheered with songs of birds and its own clear voice of gushing minstrelsy. The curves and twists of this bright line of verdure, viewed from



THE JUNGLE ALONG THE JORDAN BANKS.

the highlands, appear like the contortions of an enormous green serpent. Its great extent is better realized, I think, when seen from not too great a distance from the heights of Moab. This jungle is the characteristic mark referred to by the prophets (Jer. 12:5; 49:19; 50:44). In the old version it is translated "swelling," and was thought to refer to the annual overflow; but in the new version it is more correctly translated "pride"; and when we keep in mind that this jungle was once a covert for the lion and the bear, as well as the beasts already mentioned, which now inhabit it, the aptness of the figure will be better appreciated. "Though in a land of peace thou be secure, what

wilt thou do in the pride of the Jordan?" "He shall go up like a lion from the pride of the Jordan." And when Zechariah (11:3) speaks of "the pride of the Jordan" being spoiled, it could not refer to the overflow, but to the luxuriance which marks its course.

There are few spots of earth yet discovered which have been



LIFE ON THE LOWER JORDAN.

found entirely uninhabited by man. That is true of this unhealthy hollow. Wandering tribes of Bedouins occupy both shores of the Jordan. They think it beneath their dignity to cultivate the soil, but live mainly by plunder and extortion. They spend most of their time on horseback, frequently armed with a flint-lock gun, a knife and a saber, suspended to their girdle, or a spear eighteen feet long. They are nominally under the Turkish government, but maintain their independence in lieu of an annual tribute. They exercise suzerainty over their district, and to attempt to travel through it without first having procured their protection by hiring them as an escort is entirely unsafe. The

escort accompanies you to the borders of his district, when the services of another must be secured by a liberal bakhsheesh. In their costume and social customs we have a perfect picture of patriarchal life. Their abstemious habits make them, like their horses, muscular and sinewy, and capable of great endurance.

While this stream, which runs nowhere, had neither harbor nor boats, nor city of importance on its banks, the great chasm with its superheated air, its jungle, and its rapid running current fulfilled a supreme purpose in the history of Israel, by its separating influence from the gods across the flood, and the Arab tribes from whom Israel had finally broken away. Its name, too, is associated with many sacred memories. There is a spot between Bethel and Ai, three thousand feet above, from which the plain of Jericho may be seen. It was from there that Lot beheld it, and, attracted by its fertility, "chose him all the plain of the Jordan." Its waters divided at the approach of the divine symbol — the ark of the covenant — and the divinely favored "passed over right against Jericho." Just before his translation Elijah performed a similar miracle, and, in company with Elisha, "went over on dry ground." So, Elisha, after the departure of his friend, with the mantle that fell from him smote the waters, and "they parted hither and thither." On its banks John the Baptist announced the coming of the kingdom, and in its waters the Son of God was baptized. There is no stream on earth from which the glory has so completely departed; yet there is none the world will go so far to see. Curiosity or holy desire brings annually to its banks Moslem, Jew, gentile; and the Christian, symbolizing it as the limit of his pilgrimage, and its passage as the way into the Elysium of the blessed, sings:

"On Jordan's stormy banks I stand, and cast a wishful eye
To Canaan's fair and happy land, where my possessions lie."

#### THE COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF ISRAEL.

By Walter M. Patton, Ph.D., Middlefield, Conn.

A RECENT writer has made the statement that "Israel was led to mingle with other nations as perhaps no other nation before or since has mingled with the world at large, and it may not be inappropriate to suggest that this fact, with those that accompany it, explains, as nothing else can explain, Israel's peculiar place in the world today." The position here taken can be supported as well from the Old Testament itself as from the monuments and other external sources.

In the Old Testament traditions the kinship of Israel with the nations round about is often asserted, and the explanations of the fact which are given make it clear that Israel believed the right of connubium to have existed between her earliest forefathers and their neighbors of other tribes. This may be inferred from the traditions which say that the patriarchs married wives of another race, and probably also from the accounts which trace to them non-Israelitish peoples. Examples of these two cases are: (a) Foreign marriage: Abram marries Hagar an Egyptian and Keturah a south Arabian; Isaac the son of Abram the Hebrew, marries an Aramæan woman of nearly related race, and his son Jacob repeats his action; 3 Joseph becomes the ancestor of the greater part of the Hebrew nation through the two sons of his Egyptian wife, Asenath; Moses's wife was Zipporah, a woman of Midian,<sup>5</sup> and from her son the priests who served the northern Danites until the captivity of the land in 721 B. C. are said to have descended.<sup>6</sup> The case of Shechem who marries Jacob's daughter Dinah is enough to show that outsiders might marry Hebrew women likewise. (b) Foreign off-

BIBLICAL WORLD, March, 1902, p. 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Gen. 16:15; 25:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gen., chaps. 24 (J), 29 (E).

<sup>4</sup>Gen., chap. 41 (E).

<sup>5</sup> Exod. 2:21 (J).

<sup>6</sup> Judg. 18:30.

spring: the children of Abram and Hagar and of Abraham and Keturah are non-Hebrew tribes of the region south of Palestine and of Arabia;7 Noah is the father, not only of Shem, but of Japheth and Canaan (Ham) as well; 8 Isaac's elder son, Esau, is the father of the group of non-Hebrew peoples bordering on Canaan to the south.9 The fact that these genealogical lists and narratives are highly artificial does not do away with the later belief that Israel as a nation was not of pure origin, and that the practice of foreign marriage was a primitive usage. This belief, when viewed in the light of Israel's custom in historical times, in all likelihood represents facts. The Hebrew tradition makes it a matter of necessity almost that Israel should from the start have been of mixed character as a people. We may not interpret the prophet Ezekiel's word 10 too literally, but still he is but speaking his nation's own belief in its mixed origin when he says: "Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem: Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of the Canaanite; the Amorite was thy father and thy mother was an Hittite." Wherever we may place the beginning of the Hebrew nation, we have the same situation to face: the Hebrews in a minority and obliged to accommodate themselves to the powerful influences of their environment. It is of small consequence whether we begin with Abraham, Jacob, or Moses, as far as Israel's ability to live as a separated people is concerned. In any case this would have been practically impossible to her.

Nor was it merely by settlement among strangers that the purity of Israel as a race was endangered. The Old Testament shows that large bodies of people were admitted into the Hebrew nation, as, for example, the Kenites, i a Midianite tribe to which Moses was related by marriage, and the Canaanites of the district of Gibeon. Moreover, intermarriage between Israel and her neighbors continued all through her history, despite the efforts that were made to put a stop to the practice. For the time after Moses and Joshua this is attested by the book of Judges. For the period of the monarchy we have especially strong testimony

<sup>7</sup> Gen., chap. 25. 
<sup>9</sup> Gen., chap. 36. 
<sup>11</sup> Judg. 1:16. 
<sup>18</sup> Josh., chap. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Gen., chap. 9. <sup>10</sup> Ezek. 16:3. <sup>13</sup> Judg. 2:21 — 3:6; chap. 14.

in the royal marriages of David, Solomon, and Ahab to foreign women.<sup>14</sup> It was common after the return from exile, when Ezra and, later, the civil governor Nehemiah, sought to reform the custom as a social abuse. 15 The prophet Malachi admits the existence of mixed marriages and takes the same attitude toward them that is taken by his contemporaries Ezra and Nehemiah.<sup>16</sup> The attempted reform was not permanently successful, as we can see from the writing of such a book as Esther in the second century B. C., and also from the admission to canonical regard of such a book and of such other Scriptures as the book of Ruth and the narratives which relate the mixed marriages of Israel's greatest saints and leaders. It is significant that neither the earliest nor the latest codes of law 17 contain the prohibition of mixed marriages which is found in the prophetic history of the Jehovist 18 and in the prophetic legislation of Deuteronomy, 19 And it is just in the prophetic period that a fruitless sentiment against the practice arose, only to settle down in time to a recognition of the inevitable.

The law codes indicate the presence of strangers who were settled in the midst of Israel and make provision for the safe-guarding of their rights <sup>20</sup>. In the region beyond Jordan there were many strangers, though they were practically all of Semitic race. The southern country of Judah in the early time received accessions of immigrant Semites from the wilderness to the south, and was to some degree influenced by the mingling of a Philistine element with its own population. It was in the north more especially that foreign elements threatened the purity of the Hebrew stock, however. Here was found the region called "the district of the foreigners," or, technically, "Galilee of the Gentiles." <sup>21</sup> The contempt in which the mixed population of

<sup>14 2</sup> Sam. 3:3, 27; I Kings 11:1; 16:31.

<sup>15</sup> Ezra 9: 1, 2; Nehemiah, 13:23, 27. 16 Mal. 2:11 ff.

<sup>17</sup> The Book of the Covenant and the Priests' Code.

<sup>18</sup> Exod. 34:16. 19 Deut. 7:3; Josh. 23:12, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Exod. 20:9; 22:21; 23:9; Deut. 24:17 ff., cf. 10:19; Lev. 19:33, 34; 16:29.

<sup>21</sup> Isa. 9:1.

Galilee was held is familiar to readers of the gospels. The parts of Samaria suffered likewise from a regular influx of strangers, but more from the foreign population which Sargon II. imported into the country after his overthrow of the northern kingdom. <sup>22</sup> So far did the Samaritan type depart in time from the Jewish that there is a certain naturalness in the attitude of the Jew who would have no dealings with these Samaritan neighbors. The Samaritan was an object of contempt, because he was a much less pure Hebrew than his Jew half-brother.

In the bondage in Egypt and in the Babylonian exile some of the Hebrews were subjected to influences which probably determined to some extent the future character of the race. We have reason to believe that in the time of the bondage intermarriage between Hebrews and Egyptians was not unknown. The story of Joseph's marriage looks in that direction. For the same practice in the exile we have the fact of the complete naturalization of many Jews in Babylonia, and the late testimony of the book of Esther.

The Old Testament is full of evidence showing how intimately Israel stood related to her neighbors. Canaan was an Amoritic and Canaanitish land when Israel entered it as an Aramæan people.<sup>23</sup> Probably her language was not very different from that spoken in the land; but, however that may have been, in process of time she became Canaanitish in speech, and her classical literature is practically all in that Canaanitish dialect which we call Hebrew. The characters in which it was originally written were the Canaanitish Old Hebrew characters and not the Aramæan, as in later copies. The Canaanite made his influence upon the Hebrews felt in other directions as well. Prophecy, law, and history bear witness to the importation of Canaanite modes of thought and Canaanite usages into the sphere of Israel's religious life. 24 It did not take a great many centuries for Israelite, Canaanite, and Amorite to become indistinguishable one from another in the one people which they became. Probably the assimilation had been completed when

<sup>22 2</sup> Kings 17:24. 23 Gen. 24:4; Deut. 26:5.

<sup>24</sup> Hosea 4:12 ff; Isa. 2:6-9; Deut. 12:2-4; Judges passim; etc.

the Jehovist writer composed his great history in the eighth century B. C. His work speaks of the "Canaanite in the land" as something long past. 25 To the prophet Amos a little later the Amorites are naught but a fabulous race of the long ago. 26 Soon after this, a reformation of religion throughout Judah, and apparently beyond its limits, was undertaken by Hezekiah. We may assume that this presupposes a homogeneous population. That he met with opposition which prevented complete success does not indicate that there were any of the old non-Hebrew elements still having distinct existence, but simply that the religious condition of the people had not advanced sufficiently to be ready for his undertaking. Josiah a few generations later found them prepared for a much more thoroughgoing effort at reformation. In the resistance to invasions from the side of Syria and Assyria the Old Testament does not, any more than the monuments, suggest that there were any lines of division in the population of either the northern or the southern kingdom.

The Old Testament shows Israel in the later period of her history under the influence of another people, and this time, strangely enough, her ancient kindred, the Aramæans. From the time that the Aramæan tribes had come up from the desert and settled in Palestine and Syria in the middle of the second millennium B. C., there had been a continuous line of Aramæan settlement from the Euphrates to the borders of Arabia. In the progress of events the Aramæans of Palestine were differentiated from those of Syria, but still, of course, had them for neighbors to the northeast. About the tenth or eleventh centuries B. C., the Aramæan peoples of Syria began to move back strongly into Palestine, with the result that about the end of the eighth century the officers of Hezekiah of Judah can profess that they are conversant with the Aramaic speech, though they imply that the common people of Jerusalem are not.27 Palestine continued to receive a constant stream of Aramæan immigration, until in the third century B. C. it could be assumed that ordinary readers were able to read what was written in the Aramaic tongue. This assumption is involved

<sup>25</sup> Gen. 12:6; 13:7. 26 Amos 2:9; cf. 2 Sam. 21:2. 272 Kings 18:26.

in the failure to turn into Hebrew the Aramaic portions of Ezra, and is supported by the fact that the native tongue of the author of Ecclesiastes is not Hebrew but Aramaic, and by the somewhat later fact of a part of Daniel being in the latter dialect. By the time that the Old Testament canon was closed Aramaic was the living language of Palestine, and we may risk the conjecture that this fact had much to do with the collecting and ordering of the classical works in Hebrew which had not already been brought together in the two earlier divisions of the Old Testament, the Torah and Nebî'îm. Thus the spread of Aramaic influence was one of the factors in bringing into closed and definite form the Jewish Scriptures as we possess them. Our present interest, however, lies in pointing out that the already departing purity of the Hebrew stock was still more completely buried out of sight under this Aramæan element by which it was overlaid.

The Philistines were in Palestine before the advent of the Hebrews. They were a non-Semitic group of tribes which was unable, however, to withstand the pressure of its Semitic environment and in a relatively short time lost its non-Semitic character. The tradition of the Old Testament represents the connubium as existing between Israel and the Philistines in the days of the Judges. Such at least is the testimony of the ancient Samson narratives. Intercourse between the two peoples appears to have soon become more intimate, judging from the evidence which we have for the time of the early monarchy.28 In the Assyrian period the Philistines are still strong and independent of their Semitic neighbors; but when we arrive at the age of Nehemiah we find that the process of Semitizing them had gone so far that they do not appear to differ more from the Jews than do the nearly related Ammonites and Moabites.29 In the New Testament period the Philistines have disappeared, and Jews are in occupation of places within their ancient domain.30 Another element has thus been completely absorbed into Israel.

It would be requiring too much to ask more direct testimony

<sup>26</sup> I Sam. 13:20; chap. 27; 2 Sam. 6:10 f; 15:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Neh. 13: 23 f. <sup>30</sup> E. g., Lydda, Jamnia.

to the mingling of races which went to make up the ultimate Israel than is afforded by the biblical tradition. It is sufficient for proof, even if it be for the greater part indirect and inferential in its character. Such light as comes from external sources points also to the resultant Israel being a composite people. From the monuments we learn that the Phœnicians (Canaanites) occupied Palestine at a period as early as circa 3000 B. C.; that the Amorites coming later from the east entered in and occupied the interior behind the Phænician coastland shortly after 2000 B. C.; that the Hyksos, having been expelled from Egypt, entered southern Canaan in large numbers about the end of the nineteenth century B. C.; that the Hittites, shortly afterward coming into Syria over the Taurus mountains, pressed upon the Amorites and forced them southward into the central portion of western Canaan and the corresponding district east of the Jordan. In western Canaan the Amorites founded, according to the Old Testament, a number of kingdoms, and east of the Jordan two larger ones.31 The monuments make it plain that the Amorites were from the time of their southward movement the most important people of inland Canaan. Even after they lived but in memory in the West, the Assyrians continued to call the west land the "Land of the Amorites." The monuments also clearly imply that the Hittites lay rather to the North and East of the Amorites, and did not enter to any considerable extent into what we know as the land of Israel. This rather confirms the impression one receives after looking closely at the Old Testament data.

The Amarna letters show us in the fifteenth and four-teenth centuries B. C. certain Aramæan tribes as coming in by invasion and settlement to this Amorite-Canaanite country which the Old Testament gives later to Israel. The names of these Aramæans are the Khabiri and the Suti. We may dispute as to the identity of these peoples, but as to the survival of the name Khabiri in the 'Ibhrîm (Hebrews) of the Bible it does not seem necessary to dispute. The Egyptian records mark the coming of the Philistine combination of tribes under the group

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Josh. 10:5; Numb. 21:21.

name "sea peoples," and show that they occupied the southern maritime plain in the twelfth century B. C. There is no indication of the Hebrew conquest of Canaan found outside of the Old Testament, but the Assyrian records are clear on the existence of Israel as an important principality in central Palestine in the beginning of the ninth century B. C., and equally so on the existence of the kingdom of Judah in the middle of the next century. It must also be assumed that where the cuneiform records speak of Israel and Judah they imply populations which are relatively homogeneous at least, and not merely a heterogeneous aggregation of the old elements, Canaanite, Amorite, and Aramæan-Hebrew. When we come to the time when Aramaic culture and speech prevailed in Canaan, such external information as we can command implies that old lines of division according to race had largely faded away. There remained only the distinction between a better and a worse type of Aramæan, with a corresponding better and worse in the respective varieties of speech which were in use. Whatever of Israel there was in the New Testament age had within its territorial sphere in Canaan taken up into itself all the ancient tribes, and so produced the last Israel that ever knew national existence as such. The Samaritans alone were barred out, because they had arisen in the period of Israel's particularism. Had it not been for that fact, they would doubtless have been absorbed as easily as Philistines and other peoples came to be. However, outside of Jewry the fond discrimination between Jewish Aramæans and Samaritan Aramæans was not so easily learned or so strongly held.

There was in the very earliest period of Semitic settlement outside of Arabia a Babylonian control of Syria and Palestine. There is no sufficient reason, however, for assuming that there was any general movement on the part of the Babylonians to occupy the west permanently. The nature of the Amarna correspondence, and the analogy of the later Assyrian and Babylonian dominion in Syria and Canaan, are against an early occupation of the soil on the part of the Babylonians. In the case of Egypt's early political relations to Palestine we must come to a similar conclusion. The Egyptians ruled, but did

not settle in the country. There may have been here and there sporadic settlement on the part of both the Babylonians and Egyptians, but this can hardly have constituted any important determining factor in the development of the later population of the country. When the Scythian invasion occurred in the seventh century B. C., it did not molest Israel—or, as it was then, Judah—though it perhaps left behind in a few places a handful of straggling settlers. At Beth-shean, which later came to bear the name of Scythopolis, there may have been a larger body who remained behind. There is, however, no sign that these Scythians ever were considered as an important influence in later history, and they are not known to have retained permanently their national character, though in the time when 2 Maccabees was written the author of that book distinguishes the Scythopolitans from the Jews.<sup>32</sup>

After this rapid sketch of the facts which illustrate the composite character of the Hebrew people, we may fittingly draw two or three inferences from all that has been said. The Hebrew is a Semite beyond all question, but he is the least faithful of all Semites to the Semitic type and the least constant in his own race features. Does the fact appear strange in view of his ancient history? The spirit of exclusive Judaism is antagonistic to the facts of its own career. When Christ and the rabbis stood side by side, the former only was true to the spirit of Israel's past. He found it necessary to break with the Jewish Church in order to be true to the facts and teachings of his nation's ancestry. The missionary spirit of Christianity is in harmony with the relatively universal character of the Hebrew race. The Jew can be a citizen of any country, because many countries have made him what he is.

<sup>32 2</sup> Macc. 12: 30.

# THE TESTIMONY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

By Professor Robert A. Falconer, D.Litt., Presbyterian College, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

It has become a commonplace with some critics that the John the Baptist of the fourth gospel is idealized almost beyond recognition as a historical character, the synoptic record being the standard; though, to be sure, Matthew's account must be stripped of an upper layer of Johannine-like deposit in order that the original element may be laid bare. According to this irreducible minimum, the Baptist is supposed not to have recognized Jesus as Messiah at his Baptism. But it seems to me that the four gospels present a thoroughly consistent picture of the Forerunner.

John was the last of the prophets. As that of a prophet his ministry must be interpreted. His thought and words are quarried from Old Testament prophecy, the transforming vision of the master-builder of the new covenant having changed the fashion rather than the material of his building.

He came from the finest stock of Israel. His father's song, intrinsically genuine at least in the impression of his memory lingering in the primitive church, is fragrant of the finest flowering of Hebrew piety:

Thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Most High:

For thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to make ready his ways;

To give knowledge of salvation unto his people

In the remission of their sins,

Because of the tender mercy of our God,

Whereby the dayspring from on high shall visit us,

To shine upon them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death;

To guide our feet into the way of peace.

True to former prophecy at its best, and also to the universalism of the fourth gospel, this song gives the promise of forgiveness of sins even to the gentiles, for the sun of righteousness shall rise upon them.

In John's own preaching there is an advance on Zacharias' Benedictus. National privileges count with him for little. He seems to have lost hope for Israel as such. The ax is laid at the root of the tree. What power could induce vicious rulers to repent, even though some of the pestilent Pharisees and Sadducees stray to his baptism? When the Lord cometh he will refine his people with the fire of judgment, consuming like withes the pride of evil men who think that they are bound in the bundle of true Israel because they have Abraham to their father.

Before John saw Jesus in baptism, his preaching was vibrant with one of the ruling conceptions of Old Testament prophecy—the coming of the Day of the Lord. On reading his words we seem to hear an echo from Amos or Hosea. Repent and receive remission of sins, was the burden of his cry; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand, Jehovah is coming to judgment (Luke 3:3, 4, 17). Does not this remind us of Jeremiah and Isaiah:

O Jerusalem, wash thy heart from wickedness that thou mayest be saved. How long shall evil thoughts lodge within thee? . . . Let the wicked forsake his ways and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto Jehovah, and He will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon . . . . I will forgive their iniquity and their sins will I remember no more.

#### And of these words of Malachi:

The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple . . . . But who may abide the day of his coming? And who shall stand when he appeareth? For he is like a refiner's fire and like fuller's soap; and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi.

Since Jesus tells us that the baptism of John was from heaven, and that he was much more than a prophet, we may suppose that he appreciated what was best and deepest in prophecy. Even Israel was to be purged. John's righteousness was undiluted by any mere national aspirations. But he was a child of the prophets in looking for a sudden coming of the Day of the Lord. This judgment was to be a crisis in the world's history—swift, terrible, sifting; though out of his mercy Jehovah sends his people the great Elijah to prepare them for His coming by a call to repentance. Thereupon the new Israel would be inaugurated by the Messiah, triumphant and glorious.

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John says that he did not know Jesus. This cannot mean that he was not acquainted with one from his own circle, whose marvelous character had brought him favor with God and man. Why should Jesus join the throng of the penitent? There was no room for him in John's catechumenate. John did not recognize in Jesus the Messiah. Probably he was looking for some such figure as is described in Daniel with the magnificence and pomp of royalty. Certainly he did not see in the gentle and winsome righteousness of Jesus the majestic form of prophecy. "The one who was to come" was a well-known figure, none other than the Messiah expected with long-deferred hope (Ps. 118:26; Hab. 2:3 [LXX]). Whence he would come they did not know; Elijah was to show them, and John knew that he was not Elijah (John 1:21); but "His goings forth were from of old, from everlasting," and contemporary expectation had conjured up a somewhat vague figure with at least an ideal pre existence. How far John shared these current ideas we cannot say. As his own life had been strenuous, the Messiah likewise was to be one who would come with power to judgment. The din of his forceful age had dulled his ear against the messianic utterance of one who did not lift up his voice and cry. Nothing less than the vision and the divine voice in the baptism could convince him that this youth is not merely another prophet, not merely Jesus of Nazareth of full stature in wisdom and grace, charming the stern man of the desert with a new word from the Lord something like his own message, but that he is indeed the stronger than he whose shoe latchet he is unworthy to unloose.

The vision of the Spirit and the voice opened to the Baptist a new world. Through rifts in the tempestuous and thunderous sky of his life there appear stars from hidden and placid depths, constellations from a diviner world behind the clouds. There are deeper things in life than judgment; and from the flying wrack of the Day of the Lord emerges the prophetic promise of the Servant. John had been under preparation for this event (John 1:33), his mind having doubtless been led, according to the analogy of the prophet, into the mysteries of the Old Testa-

ment; and at the sight of the outpoured spirit, and at the words, "Thou art my beloved Son, in Thee I am well pleased," how could he help reverting to the great figure of the evangelical prophet:

Behold my servant whom I uphold; My chosen, in whom my soul delighteth; I will put my spirit upon him, He shall bring forth right to the gentiles.

"The essential points in the idea of the Servant are Jehovah's choice of him, and his forming of him. Jehovah is his Father; he calls or creates him; God puts his word in his mouth and pours out his spirit upon him" (A. B. Davidson). These elements are all found in the divine inauguration of Jesus into his Messiahship, even as described in Mark. The Messiah is the long-predicted Servant of Jehovah.

Two other features are also essential to the prophetic conception of the Servant: (1) The Servant is not only for Israel. God the Lord is the creator of the earth.

I, the Lord, have called thee in righteousness and will hold thine hand;
And I will keep thee, and make thee a covenant of a people, a light of gentiles.

(2) The suffering of the Servant is the means whereby the universal redemption is to be provided. Jehovah redeems, not only his own people, but the world, through his elect.

That vision must have awakened in John, who was no ordinary Jew, the memory of these pathetic words finely attuned to his own lonely life:

Wounded for our transgressions,
Bruised for our iniquities:
The chastisement of our peace was upon him,
And by his stripes we are healed.
And we like sheep were gone astray,
We were turned every one to his own way,
And the Lord made to light on him the iniquity of us all.
He was oppressed, yet when he was afflicted
He opened not his mouth;
As a lamb that is led to the slaughter
And as a sheep that before its shearers is dumb,
So he opened not his mouth.

John is changed. Jesus does for him what he did afterward for Paul, and what he has done ever since for the world—he interprets the Father. He came not to judge, but to save. This was the promise of classic prophecy. Jesus is winsome, but righteous withal. He constrains by his grace, and yet the sin of the world is an awful fact. Into the midst of it comes the absolutely pure one, the Son of God. How can this be? The Pharisees and the common people may have forgotten that he who was to come was to be led as a lamb to the slaughter. But John found in him the lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. Thus the words of John 1:29, 36, though possibly conformed in expression to the later primitive Christian thought (1 Pet. 1:19; Heb. 9:14), are profoundly true to the situation, and accord with the great messianic figure of the synoptic narrative, the Servant who is the beloved Son of God.

What was meant by the words, "He that cometh after me is become before me; for he was before me  $(\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau\delta s\;\mu\sigma\nu\;\hat{\eta}\nu)$ ," John 1:15,30? They may have assumed a definiteness in the memory of the evangelist that they had not when originally uttered, for his reflection is often the medium through which sayings are transmitted, as may be seen from the expansion of John 3:31-36. We can hardly suppose that John the Baptist had that deep insight into the nature of Christ that only came with the growing revelation of Jesus to His church. They meant at least that as Messiah Jesus was the primary, absolute One, with whom there could be no comparison. The vision would also give reality to the vague messianic attributes of royal majesty, preexistence and mystery, that must have been a part of his hereditary mental furniture.

It is very doubtful whether John openly proclaimed to the crowds who came to his baptism that Jesus was the Messiah. This, at any rate, is not involved in the narrative of the fourth gospel. He spoke directly to some of his disciples, an inner circle, it would appear, who were probably more or less initiated into the secrets of their master's mind, though even to them in pregnant rather than popular phrase (John 1:29, 36). On the other hand, we get the impression that he had not definitely

announced Jesus as Messiah thus early even to all his following (John 3:25, 26). His testimony to these had been probably suggestive. Now his answer is that the work of Jesus is divinely sanctioned. He must increase, for he is greater; Israel that had been forsaken has found her husband, whereat the joy of the Baptist is fulfilled. So it would seem that, when the disciples asked John concerning Jesus, he does not hesitate to declare his own belief, though he continues his preparatory work. The crowds are not yet ripe for such testimony as he, after the vision, has it in his power to give. The messianic age has come, but matters must develop. Nor does this conflict with the answer to the Pharisees (John 1:26, 27). He merely tells them that the Messiah is in their midst. These words are only another way of putting the pre-baptismal message of Mark 1:7, 8 in the new conditions. The man to inaugurate the messianic movement has come. Who he is time will show. And Jesus in claiming John as a witness to himself (John 5:33), just as he did afterward (Mark II:27 ff), only states that he bore witness to the truth, and that he declared his messiahship to the wide world. Such testimony would have been met with scorn. An appeal to prophecy would have been futile for the average hearer; he was not sufficiently responsive to its deeper notes. Events may disclose the man to the general.

This agrees with the incident of Matthew II: 2 ff. The question brought by two of his disciples shows that the Baptist had been teaching them that Jesus was the Messiah. For the reply of Jesus, "Blessed is he whosoever shall find no occasion of stumbling in me" (II:6), as well as his defense of John before the crowds, shows that his question arose from doubt, and was not the sign of dawning consciousness that Jesus is the Messiah. The answer of Jesus further indicates the method of his self-revelation to the multitude. He demands belief in himself; he fulfils what was predicted of the Servant; he claims John as his prophetic forerunner. From prophecy he restores forgotten features and combines them into a new and living messianic conception before he assumes the title of Messiah. But for those who had ears to understand, these words were as much a

messianic claim at an early period in his career as anything in the fourth gospel. Even the messianic confession is made only to the few receptive or exceptional believers.

John was never within the kingdom of God. He seems not to have understood its fundamental import, and yet he gave an immense impetus to its inauguration. His cry that the kingdom of heaven was at hand awoke the national hopes of people of very different tempers. There were quiet, enduring men and women looking for the consolation of Israel; Pharisees with their disciples; and a host of the common people. All gathered from John the idea that the kingdom was something to be eagerly seized upon; and the crowds were pressing in to take their place in the rehabilitated Israel. Doubtless they all shared the belief-more or less refined -of a sudden breaking in of the kingdom. It was to come with observation. Men would soon cry: lo, here! or lo, there! And for John and for the Pharisee the reply of Jesus would be the same: "The kingdom of heaven is within you" (Luke 17: 20). Thus both stood outside the kingdom; but how vast was the difference in their attitudes!

We are now in a position to understand the Baptist's question (Matt. II: 3). It was not merely a prisoner's despair, though shut off as he was, he could not satisfy himself as to the nature of the work of Jesus.

I. "He heard the works of the Christ." But they were so disappointing. The kingdom was not coming with power. The Bridegroom was not yet rejoicing in the Bride. It is true that Galilee was astir, but so had Judea been at his own preaching. So far there was no national regeneration, much less any wide movement for the outside world of the gentiles, such as he had foretold. Was the flood of prophetic promise to run to waste in Galilee? John's complaint was not very different from that of the brothers of Jesus—one who makes great claims must show himself as Messiah to the world in Jerusalem and not remain buried in Galilee (John 7: 3-5). The contrast between hope and realization was too much for John, and Jesus rebukes him for the tone of unbelief. John could not believe that the kingdom was in their midst, because there was no display of the majesty of the Day of the Lord.

2. John was probably disappointed also in Jesus as the Lamb of God. In Matt. 11: 16-19 we have a vivid contrast between Jesus and John as they struck the popular imagination. John was stern, ascetic, possessed by a demon; his disciples fasted. Jesus mingled in the pleasures of men; at their banquets he companied with all, even publicans and sinners. Men called him a wine-bibber and gluttonous. Are we surprised that, when this rumor floated in through the bars of his prison, John was disappointed? He could not know the heart of Jesus. A man of sorrows, he expected to find in Jesus the Man of sorrows. The sins of the people should smite him sorely. Like Isaiah, John was possessed by an awful sense of the divine holiness. Surely the Servant of the Lord would be seized with travail of soul at the state of his people. But where was there any mighty hatred surging around the suffering Jesus? Had his undeserved reproach thus far turned the hearts of the people toward him? How can the favorite of worldly Galilee be compared to a lamb led to the slaughter and to a sheep dumb before her shearers?

The day of Christ's anguish and rejection was still below the horizon, and no breath of its dawn has yet gone shivering through the enthusiasm of the multitude for him. John suspects some illusion in what he saw and heard of Jesus. Not that he was an impostor, but perhaps only Elijah or Jeremiah or some prophet preparatory for the coming of the Messiah. When we consider how much all prophecy had in it of the human element, how the prophetic inspiration was not continuous, how the prophet might naturally imagine that he had read more into the vision than was meant by it, how even the miraculous did not convey as much to the Hebrew as it would to the world of today, we cannot think it strange that John grew skeptical of his prophetic testimony, when he lay helpless, the once free man of the wilderness, tamed by a dungeon.

In his reply Jesus neither upbraids nor argues, but bids the disciples describe what they saw of his work. He words his description of it according to the prophecy of the great figure of the Servant who had been so much in the thought of John

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See DAVIDSON, art. "Prophecy," in HASTINGS'S Dictionary of the Bible.

(Isa. 35:5 f.; 61:1). Mercy, sympathy, glad proclamation of a free gospel to all, are the purest marks of the messianic work of the Spirit-filled servant. With this prophecy Jesus had opened his public ministry (Luke 4:18 ff.). Illuminating, redemptive, healing, life-giving, a preacher of good tidings to the poor, such he is most truly; and his kingdom cometh not with observation, though for those who have eyes to see it is already here.

And yet John was no reed shaken by the wind. Like the apostles afterward, who interpreted the parousia of Christ in terms of the Day of the Lord, he also seems to have taken its imagery too literally. John, the prophet of the old covenant, never heard the parable of the seed that grows into the blade, ear, and full corn in the ear, and there is small wonder that he was perplexed by the messianic work of Jesus. Even he, than whom there hath not arisen a greater among those born of women, lacked faith; but, his doubts notwithstanding, Jesus declares that those who will not discern the heavenly origin of his work have no capacity for judging as to his own authority.

# THE DIVINE METHOD OF INQUIRY.

By REV. A. T. BURBRIDGE, Henley-on-Thames, England.

Passages such as Gen. 22:1, Deut. 8:2, and 2 Chron. 32:31 are felt by all thoughtful persons to require some amount of apologetic treatment. They provoke the question: "Can this be the God we know, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ?" The passages seem to hint at jealous suspicion on God's part, at cruel and ingenious devices contrived by the divine Being for the purpose of discovering disloyalty or treachery in his servants. If the reader is critically inclined, he is ready to declare that in these passages men have attributed the worst infirmities of eastern potentates—a sultan's craven mistrust, a tyrant's restless doubts—unto the most holy God. He cries out in indignation: "This is not the God we have learned to trust and serve and love. We can find no place for God's experiments, temptations, testings, in our creed."

Thus it has long been felt that some explanation is needed in order to bring these passages into line with the Christian conception of the Deity. But those who have attempted to supply such an explanation seem to have been singularly unfortunate in the method they have adopted. For example, Œcumenius says: "God tempts or proves his people γυμνασίας χάριν καὶ ἀναρρησίως." Augustine has the saying: "Deus tentat, ut doceat; diabolus tentat, ut decipiat." Theophylact writes thus: "Αὐτὸς πειράζει ἵνα δοκιμωτέρους δείξη." These are typical instances of ingenious efforts to solve the difficulty. It is a pity it should be ingenuity more or less wasted. But so it is. For evidently the aim of these writers is to supply the divine Being with a worthy and sufficient purpose in his testing of us. In the quotations

<sup>1</sup>Gen. 22:1, "God did tempt (R. V. prove) Abraham." Deut. 8:2, "To prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments or no." 2 Chron. 32:31, "God left him to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart."

given above, God is likened to a training master who tests in order to exercise and strengthen, to a teacher testing in order to instruct, or to a fond father who tests in order to win for his children the admiring approval of others. We say this is ingenuity wasted. For the divine purpose is stated so clearly in the Scripture record itself that it is strange how anyone can have failed to perceive it.

In twelve passages in the Old Testament Scriptures God is represented as tempting or proving (1702). In seven of these twelve there is a very significant explanatory clause added, e.g., "to prove thee, to know what was in thy heart;" "that I may prove them whether they will walk in my law or no;" "the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God;" "to try him that He might know all that was in his heart" (Deut. 8:2; Exod. 16:4; Deut. 13:3; 2 Chron. 32:31). We can scarcely fail to perceive that the purpose for which the testing was instituted is here definitely stated. God is represented as testing or proving his people in order that he may discover for himself all that is in their hearts. It is almost implied that there is ignorance on God's part rather than lack of self-knowledge on man's.

And, very significantly, the writer of Hebrews uses πειράζω, and not δοκιμάζω, to represent the Old Testament [17]. (Heb. II: 17). The synonyms may be briefly distinguished thus: The latter implies a certain amount of foreknowledge on the part of him who makes the experiment, the former does not, but represents an experiment made for the acquirement of knowledge. Thus the kindred word πειράω denotes, in classical Greek, "to examine, to question, to find out what a thing is good for, to discover the hidden meaning of dreams." Compare also the temptings or testings, undertaken simply for the obtaining of information, referred to in Matt. 22:35; John 6:6; Rev. 2:12. The word πειράζω may be understood as indicating that the experiment is made by one who is ignorant of the qualities of the article or person tested and wishes to discover them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The  $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\omega\iota$  of the evil one represent a further development in the meaning of the word.

This, then, is the fact to which we desire to call attention, that in the Old Testament God is represented as testing us, experimenting on us (if we may use such an expression), for the purpose of acquiring further, complete, and perfect knowledge concerning us. To say that the object of the testing is to reveal to us our own strength or weakness is a statement which, however it may commend itself to our moral judgment, must nevertheless be rejected as ignoring the definite assertion repeatedly made in the Scriptures. In them we are told that God puts us to the test in order that he may know us better. Any explanation which does not fully recognize this fact must be ruled out of court as inadequate and misleading.

Logicians have made us familiar with the two methods of observation and experimental inquiry pursued by man in his acquirement of knowledge. Now, if we take into account the teaching of the Old Testament passages referred to above, we perceive that God is represented in Scripture as adopting both these methods of discovery, as far as we men are concerned. Nothing escapes God's notice; he sees, observes, knows, all that takes place—this truth is reiterated again and again. But no less emphatically and definitely is it stated that God tests men with a view to gaining fresh information concerning them; i. e., in his discovery of us he pursues, not only the method of observation, but also that of experimental inquiry.

Here, however, we are brought face to face with this difficulty. Is God then ignorant of anything or anybody? And, if we are not careful, we shall find ourselves involved in a discussion of those perennial problems connected with the divine prescience and the freedom of the human will. We wish to avoid any such entanglement in metaphysical and theological mazes. But may we not venture to think that even as God's omnipotence is self-limited in the creation and salvation of free-beings like ourselves, so also his omniscience may be self-limited, if he sees that such limitation will be for our good? It is a familiar fact that God will not save us against our will; that, omnipotent as he is, he cannot save us until we have voluntarily accepted of his salvation. So also we can understand how the omniscient God may refuse

to know us perfectly until we have revealed ourselves unto him. Now, in adopting the method of experimental inquiry, God gives us the opportunity of thus making ourselves known to him. In his observation of us the soul is passive. Without our knowledge and without our concurrence he searches us, reads the secrets of our hearts and all our deepest thoughts. But in his testing of us the soul is active. It is bidden reveal itself, its own powers, unto God. It is put on its mettle, and by its very activity it makes itself known to its Maker. God always requires man to co-operate with him. We ourselves can perceive how it is for our good that he should do so. We are not surprised to find that in his knowing of us God requires active co-operation on our part. Such an arrangement is in complete agreement with all we know of the ways of that divine Providence who is ever at work in the world.

But when we speak of God adopting the method of experimental inquiry, we do not mean that he experiments on us in the same way as a scientist does on some unknown substance in order to discover its various constituents. God has no need to do that, and such an experiment would be unworthy of both himself and man. The purpose of his testing of us is that we should reveal ourselves unto him. And what has been said of God is true also of man. "Revelation is not of thought, structure, or force, but of will and purpose." It is at the moment when he is called on to choose that a man reveals himself to the world. And as is a man's revelation of himself to his fellows, so also is his revelation of himself to his God. God's perfect knowledge of us depends on our power of choice, our wills, our real selves being called into active operation.

And a careful consideration of the character of those events in our lives which we are accustomed to regard as God's testings of us will make this divine purpose still more clearly evident. In these times of trial the will and the desire—even the natural desires, such as Abraham's affection for his son—seem to be ruthlessly torn apart. God makes it hard for us to believe in his love and wisdom in order that we may be almost compelled to call our will-power into operation and make an effort toward

faith. He makes it hard for us to still love him as dear children in order that we may deliberately will to love him. He strips us of our confidence, our hopes, our desires, of everything that makes faith at all easy, of everything that makes it easy for us to do the right. It is only by sheer determination, by sheer will-power, that we keep our faith, that we do the will of God. No one who knows anything of the facts of life will raise the objection that God's methods, thus described, are too harsh and almost cruel; that he could accomplish all this by means of life's ordinary and less painful experiences. In too many instances the will is never asked to exercise its sovereign power. The man never comes to his own, never realizes himself, never thinks that there is in him that which can say Yes in right royal fashion when the whole host of rebellious passions cry out No. Even a man's faith is too often the shadowy reflection of other people's creed in the shallow waters of his own soul. His professed love for the divine Father is frequently a mere bubble borne along on a wave of religious excitement—a wave which, like the tidal bore of some river's mouth, will soon subside and leave behind it the old muddy dullness and deadness. More than ordinary means are certainly necessary if a person's will, and not his inclinations, fears, appetites, is to decide for him in these matters. This is the purpose of these harsher experiences of life, to call the will into operation, to rouse it into activity. And the result is two-fold. We emerge from the trial stronger and purer in our spiritual estate. The New Testament describes such experiences as the disciplining of the soul. Viewing life as it does from the standpoint of man's spiritual needs and salvation, this is the interpretation we should expect it to offer. But we also emerge from such a trial better known to God than we were before. We have revealed ourselves unto him. We have shown him what manner of men we are. With its intense consciousness of a God of providence controlling the history of both nations and individuals, this is the explanation the Old Testament offers. It represents these trials as a method adopted by God whereby he gets to know us better. In them the soul makes its response to the divine inquiry, and thus discovers itself to its Maker.

And now, turning back to the objections noted at the commencement of this article, we would ask: Is this Old Testament idea of a testing God to be accepted or rejected by those of us who believe in the divine fatherhood as revealed in Jesus Christ? We venture to think that its confirmation is to be found in that doctrine of God's providence on which the Old Testament lavs so much emphasis. Under certain circumstances anyone is justified in testing a person's character. When testing is prompted by jealousy or suspicion or curiosity, it is to be heartily condemned as cruel and unjust. But, if I require a man for a position of some responsibility, and our relations have not been such as to give me evidence of his honesty, fidelity or courage. for his own sake and for the sake of those whose welfare will depend on him, I am justified in testing him before I entrust him with all. Or a youth is placed under my direction, and I have to decide his calling or profession for him. If I am ignorant of his character and abilities. I feel that not to test him would be culpable conduct on my part. Now, God does not occupy an irresponsible position with respect to us. He desires to know us, not simply in order to satisfy the longings of his Father's love, but also in order that his gracious purposes with respect to us may be fulfilled. He is the God of providence. He has the ordering of the events of our lives. The angels of joy and sorrow, wealth and poverty, life and death, are his servants, they come and go at his bidding. He seeks to order all for our eternal welfare. We ought not to overlook the fact that, if he is going to train us, if he is going to be indeed our God of providence, it is necessary, not only that he should be all-powerful, but also that he should know us perfectly. Otherwise the machinery of life, even under his control, may maim, crush, shatter us, instead of shaping and moulding us unto his eternal glory. There can be no defect on his part, even in his knowing of us; but there may be considerable defect on ours. It is not that aught in the soul's chamber can be hidden from his allseeing eye. But something may be lacking which ought to be there and must be there, if he is to know us perfectly. It is the object of the divine testing to call that something into being.

With a man's will-power dormant, undeveloped, unknown, all attempt at really training and moulding the character is foolish because impossible. Man sometimes attempts it; God never does. He calls into activity first of all a man's will. He seeks to know what a man's own free choice is. Then he knows what course to follow in his schooling of the soul. It is in the doctrine of a beneficent divine providence that we find the explanation of the divine testing. And it is these two thoughts, the divine testing and the divine leading, which are to be found significantly associated in the well-known prayer of the Psalmist,

Search me, O God, and know my heart.

Try me and know my thoughts:

And see if there be any way of wickedness in me,

And lead me in the way everlasting.

(Ps. 139: 23, 24.)

To sum up: A careful consideration of the following statements will go far toward reconciling us to the idea of a divine method of inquiry: (1) God is omniscient, yet with respect to our future actions he may be understood to limit his omniscience for our good. (2) As the God of providence, it is necessary for him to know us perfectly, if his schooling of us is to be all it should be. (3) We know from experience that it is in the hour of trial, in the day of testing, that we get to know ourselves better, that we reveal ourselves to our fellows. And, according to the statements in the Old Testament, it is at such times that we reveal ourselves unto our God, that we make ourselves known more perfectly to him.

# THE ATTITUDE OF AMOS AND HOSEA TOWARD THE MONARCHY. II.8

By PROFESSOR WALTER R. BETTERIDGE, Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.

#### II. HOSEA.

The book of Hosea presents greater difficulties of interpretation than those to be found in Amos. Here, too, no positive dates can be assigned, and it is necessary to divide the book into two divisions, chaps. 1-3 and 4-14, which are in many respects so distinct that Volz9 has even gone so far as to suggest that they may come from two different authors. The date of chaps. 4-14 may be fixed with some confidence as later than the death of Jeroboam II., and they cover a period extending at least to the eve of the appearance of Tiglath Pileser in northern Palestine in 733, and possibly beyond that date. Chaps. 1-3, on the other hand, summarize Hosea's preaching prior to the death of Jeroboam, and so proceed from about the same time as that covered by the activity of Amos, though it seems probable that his call to the prophetic work and his household experiences related in chaps. I and 3 may have antedated the call of Amos. These events must have covered several years, and whether the woman of chap. 3 be identical with Gomer, as seems more likely, or is a different woman, some time must have elapsed when the prophet, about the close of the reign of Jeroboam II. or perhaps later, wrote out this section with its combination of history and prophecy. The form of these chapters is peculiar; and it is not improbable that the present somewhat artificial arrangement may be due to another hand than that of the prophet.11 Omitting 1:7, which may well be regarded

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Concluded from the BIBLICAL WORLD for November, 1902, pp. 361-9.

<sup>9</sup> Die vorexilische Jahveprophetie und der Messias.

<sup>20</sup> SEESEMANN, op. cit., pp. 34-6.

<sup>&</sup>quot;DAVIDSON, art. "Hosea" in HASTINGS'S Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. II, pp. 42, 43; Vos, Presbyterian and Reformed Review, 1898, p. 232.

as a marginal gloss, the passage falls into three sections, each of which passes from denunciation to promise. These sections are 1:2-2:2 (Heb.); 2:3-25; 3:1-5. Some recent scholars have on various grounds rejected the verses containing the elements of promise, and have reduced the prophecy to a dead level of denunciation and doom, and have caused Hosea, as they have already caused Amos, to fail in one of the distinctive features of the prophet—the hope for the future. But, assuming that the present arrangement of these chapters is purely literary, and that it does not in any way represent the original method of oral delivery, the difficulty occasioned by the objection that the prophet would not be likely to blunt the edge of his denunciations by following them with glowing promises in the next breath largely disappears. The denunciations are especially severe. Directed at first against the house of Jehu and then against the royal power of Israel, they culminate in the first subdivision with the rejection of the people and the breaking of the covenant relation which bound the people and their God together. The purpose of the breaking of his covenant relation is brought out in the next subdivision—it is disciplinary. Israel is to learn that Jehovah is her sole support, that she is a pensioner in Jehovah's land on Jehovah's bounty. The means of inflicting the punishment is also indicated—it is to be by exile. Far from her land, without the ordinary means of worship and without regular political organization, she shall learn the meaning of her experience and shall appreciate her true relation to Jehovah. The punishment will not fail of its desired effect, and this leads us naturally to the other side of the picture — the promises and the conception of the new organization. For our purposes it seems best to consider 2:1, 2 with 3:5, for by so doing we get the clearest picture of the prophet's conception of the means and the form of the restoration. The members of the dead kingdom of Israel in exile shall not seek a restoration of their own political organization, but shall turn to Jehovah their God and David their king. Or, in other words, they shall renew once more their allegiance to the Davidic monarchy, separation from which had been their initial sin, and shall wor-

ship Jehovah in his chosen seat. United to Judah and under the leadership of their temporal head, they shall go forth from the land of their exile, and shall make their freedom sure by a victory in Jezreel, which shall cause that name to lose its evil omen as the memorial of the bloody foundation of the dynasty of Jehu, and give it a new significance as the symbol of the divine replanting of the people in their own land. With this renewed and reorganized people, conscious at last of their true relation to Jehovah, Jehovah will establish a new covenant of peace, and will favor them in their land with an abundance of material blessings.

This picture, except in details, is not different from that of Amos. The destruction of the monarchy is just as complete; but according to Hosea the members of the sinful nation shall learn the significance of their punishment and turn back to their God and be restored, while Amos holds out hope only for the good grain which is saved in the sifting process. Again, Hosea seems to look forward to a return of the exiled Israel from the land of the exile, while Amos holds out no hope of that kind. And lastly, while Amos declares that Judah must suffer under the hand of the invader, Hosea utters no word of condemnation of the southern kingdom. In these three chapters, then, Hosea sees the hope for the future in the monarchy, and in the monarchy as it has maintained itself in the southern kingdom. The northern kingdom must be destroyed as a political and a religious entity, and the new order of things centers about the Davidic king of Judah, and then under the rule of this king the messianic age shall dawn.

The contrast between chaps. I-3 and 4-I4, from the point of view of their judgment of the monarchy, has not been sufficiently appreciated. Indeed, many writers have sought to maintain that there is no essential variance. Kirkpatrick, for example, says that "there is here [chaps. 4-14] no reference to the reunion of Israel with Judah, or to the Davidic king; but it does not follow that those features in the earlier picture of the restoration . . . . have been forgotten. Completeness is not to be expected everywhere." 12 Smend, on the other hand, insists that,

<sup>12</sup> Doctrine of the Prophets 2, pp. 136, 137.

since the attitude of Hosea to the monarchy in chaps. 4-14 is incompatible with the mention of the Davidic king in chaps. 1-3, therefore the reference to the Davidic king is not authentic.13 Neither of these opinions does justice to the peculiar teaching of these later chapters. Nor is it sufficient to say that Hosea regards the separate existence of the northern kingdom as a sin, though undoubtedly most of the denunciations in these chapters are directed especially against the northern monarchy. This is probably the case with those striking passages which refer to the existent confusion and anarchy.<sup>14</sup> But surely this is not a satisfactory interpretation of the scornful question: "Where now is thy king that he may save thee, and thy princes that they may judge thee, of whom thou saidst, Give me a king and princes?" 15 The reference here is without any doubt to the demand of the people as recorded in I Sam. 8:19, 20, and the divine judgment given in Hosea, that the permission to establish a monarchy was given in wrath, just as the end of the monarchy was to come in wrath, does not differ essentially from the judgment given in I Sam. 8:7-9. Furthermore, this reference, which an unprejudiced interpretation can regard only as a condemnation of the monarchy as an institution, is supported by other references in these chapters which have caused an endless amount of discussion, but which, nevertheless, seem capable of a simple and natural explanation. The first of these is 9:9, "They have deeply corrupted themselves as in the days of Gibeah;" and the second, which undoubtedly refers to the same event, is in 10:9, "O Israel, thou hast sinned from the days of Gibeah." Opinions have varied as to whether the allusion here is to the outrage recorded in Judg. 19:16 ff., to the establishment of the monarchy under Saul a man of Gibeah, or to some unrecorded event in Israelitish history. On our interpretation, the reference can be only to the foundation of the monarchy, a sign of the inherently rebellious disposition of the people of Israel and a chief

<sup>13</sup> Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte 2, p. 209, note 2.

<sup>14</sup> E. g., 7:1-7; 8:4; 9:15.

<sup>25 13: 10,</sup> reading with Houtsma, Wellhausen, Smith, Nowack, et al.

cause of the present desperate condition. 16 Their attempt to put themselves on the same plane with other nations has involved them in the same fate with other Palestinian states, and their politics can lead only to their humiliation before Assyria. It is also highly probable that in the declaration that "all their wickedness is in Gilgal" (9:15) there is another reference to the founding of the monarchy which is described in I Sam. 11:14, 15 as the renewing of the kingdom. And, again, our view that Hosea rejects the monarchy theoretically as well as practically is strengthened by the consideration of his conception of the form under which the new order of things should manifest itself. This is suggested in 14:2-9 (Heb.) - a passage against whose genuineness no really convincing argument has as yet been brought. Here there is no mention of a king, nor indeed of any form of government or organization. There is a return to a peaceful agricultural condition in which Ephraim shall recognize his direct dependence upon Jehovah, and shall derive from him directly both his protection and his strength. The old political and military policy shall become a thing of the past, for military organization, and even alliances with the great power of Assyria, have brought only ruin in their train. This idyllic state is promised to Ephraim and to Ephraim only; at the last Hosea has no message of hope for Judah. But has he any message at all for Judah in these later chapters? Many would answer this question in the negative, notwithstanding the fact that the word Judah is found no less than twelve times in these chapters. In a few passages, it is true, the sense is confessedly obscure, but in the others it does not seem necessary to change the text. Assuming the genuineness of these passages, the attitude of the prophet toward Judah which they indicate is in perfect accord with the interpretation which we have adopted of his attitude to the monarchy in general. The tone is uniformly unfavorable and condemnatory, as if it were impossible for the prophet to see in such a sinful and corrupt state as Judah any hope for the future kingdom of Jehovah. In 4:15 we might well

<sup>16</sup> CORNILL, Königsberger Studien, p. 25; SMEND, op. cit., pp. 208, 209; DAVIDSON, ut supra.

find the first indication of this new judgment of Judah—new as compared with the one which, on our view, he held during the earlier years of his prophetic activity. He sees that Judah is entering upon the same path of folly and ignorance which is proving so disastrous to Israel. In several cases Judah is condemned for engaging in the same silly political practices as her more powerful northern sister (5:12-14). She, too, relies upon military defenses (8:14), and in every way her character and her attitude toward Jehovah are as unsatisfactory as those of Israel (6:4; 12:1, Heb.). This last passage is somewhat doubtful, and seems to have been regarded by the Revisers as most probably a commendation of Judah, though in the margin they give an alternative rendering with the opposite sense. It seems impossible to hold to the view that the prophet is here commending Judah for her faithfulness to Jehovah. The fact is that throughout these chapters he has only words of blame and reproof for the sinful course which Judah is pursuing. We are obliged, therefore, to adopt the marginal rendering as coming the nearest to the original meaning of the prophet. In consequence of her sins the punishment of Judah is as inevitable as that of Israel (6:11; 10:11; 12:13). If Judah is referred to at all in these chapters, it is clear that she is distinctly and positively condemned.

We are now met by a difficult question. If our interpretation is correct, we are obliged to hold that in the course of the book of Hosea we find a radical change in his attitude, in the first place toward Judah, and then toward the monarchy as an institution. How is this change to be accounted for? The most probable answer, as it seems to us, is that it is to be explained on the ground of the well-known change in the circumstances and relations of the two kingdoms, and especially in the policy of Judah during the few years which followed the death of Jeroboam II. and Uzziah. During the reign of Uzziah, Judah had refrained from meddling in the political affairs of her more powerful neighbors on the north; and, on the whole, she seems to have been, during the greater part of the long reign of this monarch, fairly faithful to the religious requirements which were imposed upon her.

With the accession of Ahaz, however, a new policy was introduced. Either purposely or, as he may have thought, of necessity, Ahaz brought Judah into the current of international politics when he began his political intrigues with Tiglath Pileser, thereby incurring the condemnation of Isaiah. With this change in policy the character of Judah was radically changed. What hope could there be for a righteous government under such a king as Ahaz or in such a monarchy as he was making Judah? It is not probable that Hosea would sympathize very strongly with the policy of Pekah and Rezin when they sought to force Judah to enter into a coalition with them, but it is equally improbable that he could look with approval upon the action of Ahaz in summoning Tiglath Pileser to his aid, thereby taking his stand definitely and finally as an enemy of his brethren in the northern kingdom. What is more likely than that Hosea is referring to just this action of Ahaz when in 5:10 he says that "the princes of Judah are like them that remove the landmark"—the landmark here being the relation between the two kingdoms which Ahaz was seeking to break by his intrigues with Assyria to gain control of the whole of Palestine? Wellhausen<sup>17</sup> in his note on 5:13 has raised the question as to whether Hosea is referring in this denunciation to those actions on the part of Ahaz which are so familiar because of the light thrown upon them by Isaiah, who was active in the southern kingdom at just this period. It is true that Wellhausen decides against this explanation, but in his rejected suggestion he has, in our judgment, furnished the key for the explanation of this entire passage in the fifth chapter, and also for the question with which we are just now immediately concerned. For if our interpretation is the correct one, then there is a natural and sufficient ground for Hosea's change of attitude with regard to Judah. On this interpretation, it was inevitable that Hosea should express his opinion of Judah, for otherwise we should have no clue to his peculiar change of attitude toward the whole subject of the right of the monarchy to a place in a community which should give expression to the will of Jehovah. It is not

<sup>17</sup> Kleine Propheten 1, pp. 112, 113.

necessary, therefore, to insist upon bringing both parts of the prophecy into harmony either by rejecting the reference to the reunion of the two kingdoms which is found in the first part, or, on the other hand, by forcing the second part to yield a messianic significance similar to that contained in the first part. Nor are we justified either in inferring that the two parts came from different authors. It is surely not an unheard-of thing that the prophetic judgment of a man or of an institution should be altered in the course of years, especially when the relation of the man or the institution to the permanent underlying principles of Jehovah's moral government has undergone a radical transformation.

With this we bring our discussion to an end. If we have found the correct interpretation, we have seen that, inasmuch as no prophet is without concern for the future of Jehovah's kingdom, the question as to the form which that kingdom shall assume is ever prominent in the mind of every prophet. One of the most frequently recurring figures is that of the monarchy, and hence many of the prophets looked forward to the perpetuation of the monarchical form of government, usually under the rule of a descendant of David. This is the attitude of Amos, who expects those who shall be spared by the invader of northern Israel to attach themselves to the Davidic monarchy. Hosea at first took essentially the same position, though his view seems to be that, with the aid of the Davidic king, repentant Israel shall be led back from her exile. Later, however, under materially different circumstances, Hosea rejects the monarchy altogether, sees nothing good in Judah, and looks forward to a restoration of Ephraim in which all the current forms of organized government shall be wholly lacking, and in which the individual and the community shall live in a relation of direct dependence on Jehovah. In this judgment, as is so often the case with Hosea, we have occasion to note his deep spiritual insight, as he anticipates the dawn of that era when the kingdom not of this world should be established in which "one is our Master, even Christ, and all we are brethren."

## American Institute of Sacred Literature.

A LETTER FROM THE PRINCIPAL CONCERNING OUR RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

MY DEAR FELLOW-STUDENT:

Do we ever stop to think of our personal religious beliefs, and the sources from which we have derived them? Is not the subject one which occasionally should receive our attention? I have in mind particularly the second part of the question. Whatever may be our religious beliefs, where do we get them? It is evident, of course, that they do not come into the world with us. What are the possible sources from which they may come, and in what proportion have they come from each of these sources? Let us now and then ask ourselves these questions, for it will surely be granted that the analysis which is involved in the answers will be helpful to us in many ways.

1. May we say that a certain portion of that which we believe concerning God and his relation to the world has come to us in an imperceptible way out of our childhood environment? This would mean that, in connection with other conceptions which have gradually come to us as our minds have grown through the stage of childhood, certain religious conceptions have also found their place and have been accepted without question. These, clearly, would be the conceptions of those about us - our parents, our friends, and, to some extent, our neighbors. How much of our stock of religious opinion has its origin in this way? While a definite answer may not be given to this question, perhaps an approximate answer may be obtained. This portion of our religious belief is something which has come to us in the same way as have the simplest ideas concerning life. It can hardly be said that it came by teaching, for certainly no formal teaching was employed. It was taken for granted. Not a question was raised. It came from the father or the mother, just as so many things came which entered into that early life and thought. Of course, these conceptions were childish in their nature; they could not be otherwise. The heaven talked about was something which we could understand as children. It must, therefore, have been a very crude conception. The same thing may be said of all the others. They were just such thoughts

about God and our relation to him as a child could appreciate. Now that we have grown up, it is fair to raise the question: How much of our present religious belief is, after all, just that same childish belief which came to us in the period of childhood before it was possible really to think upon these matters? In other words, have we grown into larger conceptions, or are we still living in the little child's environment? Each one must answer this question for himself.

Supposing that we are able to distinguish between our present position and that of the child—or, in other words, supposing that we have grown—it is possible, perhaps, to account for the growth in three ways. New beliefs have come to us, and the childish beliefs have been modified, as the result of (1) experience, (2) formal instruction, (3) the study of the Holy Scriptures. These three sources may not always be kept distinct, but they may be considered separately.

- 2. Growth from experience.—The deepest religious convictions are, in all probability, those which are rooted in the experiences of life. No one, for example, can understand the religious side of life who has not been called upon to suffer. At the same time, the prevailing opinion that religious feeling must always be associated with the sadder and sterner phases of life is a great mistake. As the nation passes through the different stages from barbarism up to civilization, each step forming the basis upon which the next step shall be taken, so the individual passes through the different experiences of life and finds himself at each stage looking back to those that have preceded, building his new conceptions upon the experience of the preceding stages. In each of these transitions one's religious ideas ordinarily undergo change to a greater or less extent. As familiarity with the phases of life grows greater, and as thought on the responsibilities of life grows more definite, one's religious opinions are adjusted; that is, they are enlarged, their horizon is broadened. Not seldom the change is a violent one, and is accompanied by distress of mind and heart. It is inevitable that, as one goes deeper, he must re-establish foundations which shall be stronger and broader. To do this requires the tearing down of that which has already been built in order that there may be room for new foundations and for the new structure.
- 3. Growth through direct teaching.— This is something which many never receive. Those who have been more fortunate will trace much of their religious opinion to the direct teaching which was received in the family, in the school, or in the church. Perhaps in these days the amount of direct religious teaching is not so great as in

former days; but some of us remember very distinctly the catechism which we were required to memorize and to repeat from week to week on Sunday afternoons. Some of us also recall that in our regular school work a certain time was reserved for direct teaching of a religious or ethical character. In most cases this was associated with the Bible. In the days when most of us were children it was customary to go to church, and it was expected that the children of the family as well as the adult members should be in regular attendance. It is possible, therefore, for many grown persons to ascribe their religious opinions to direct teaching; while for those who are children today, in the future years this may be impossible. The catechism is no longer required even where the family life is distinctly religious. The public schools no longer permit the Bible to be read, and in many quarters it is hardly expected that the adult members of the family, not to speak of the children, shall attend the Sunday religious service. However that may be, we may ask ourselves today: How much of that which we hold as an essential part of our religious belief has come to us from this kind of teaching in one form or another? Here again we may not be able to make an answer that shall be definite; but it will be possible, perhaps, to calculate more or less closely what the influence of such teaching has been.

4. There remains the more specific and more tangible source, namely, the study of the Bible. This, perhaps, should be associated with direct teaching, but I have thought that for the purpose of analysis we might keep it separate. To what extent are we personally and directly indebted to the Scriptures for the opinions which we hold? Is it here that we have found the formulation of our beliefs in so far as we have formulated them? Do we not readily perceive that outside of certain indefinite impressions the real content of our religious faith has had its roots in Scripture story, and has found its expression in Scripture language? Is it not true that, roughly speaking, ninety per cent. or more of the content of our religious belief has come to us directly or indirectly from the Sacred Scriptures? I may not here take space to illustrate the origin of these different beliefs, but whether we think of them from the point of view of childhood or manhood, whether we hold them as connected with historical events or as formulated in abstract creeds, is it not from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament that we have in large measure obtained whatever we have of religious faith? From the point of view of opinion as well as of feeling, from the point of view of childhood as well as of maturity,

have we not, as a matter of fact, found in these chapters the source of comfort and of inspiration, the basis of all that has made up our religious life?

If this is true, even if it is only half true, what follows? Two things: (1) the recognition of the fact that in this collection of sacred books there will be found material which, if rightly appreciated, will give us stronger foundations for religious life and higher visions of spitual truth than any we have yet possessed; and (2) that there rests upon each one of us the definite obligation to find and to appropriate this material, and to secure possession of these larger blessings.

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## Exploration and Discovery.

#### FURTHER DISCOVERIES AT PETRA. .

EDITOR OF THE "BIBLICAL WORLD":

We have just been reading Professor Robinson's article "The High Place at Petra in Edom" on the spot itself, and both Professor William Libbey and I are convinced that the altars, pools, and stairways are an ancient piece of work and most certainly intended for the purposes of worship. We are spending more time here than most travelers can afford, and have looked carefully around the whole peak, and Professor Libbey carries away a whole series of new photographs. His experience as a student of geographical and geological phenomena will add weight to his view that the rock summit and its cuttings are certainly of very great age; for, while all Petra is cut into the lower strata of the friable red and white sandstone, this particular peak reaches in its summit the harder shaly strata which appear everywhere in the plateau and mountains round about, lying just below the limestone and lava and other rocks deposited above the sandstone. This fact alone explains the preservation of this monument of antiquity, for had it been hewn in the crumbling sandstone of the city below, it would not have been distinguishable after the lapse of so many centuries. This layer of ironstone shale has acted as a roof to the whole peak. There is plenty of crumbling red sandstone two hundred yards away and only some fifty or sixty feet lower down, but the cap in which this "high place" is preserved is of hard ironstone shale. Comparing the weathering on this rock with the thousand other ancient buildings and cuttings in Syria, there can be no doubt as to the very great antiquity of this record of past ages.

As to the outlook from this peak, it is sublime and worthy of a place among the noted mountains of the Bible and marvelously fitted to stir within the human heart those emotions which have ever found their rightful vent in worship of powers far above all things human.

As to location, it is much more central than other explorers have realized. We climbed by grotto stairways from the "Treasury of

See the BIBLICAL WORLD, January, 1901.

Pharaoh" and came to the pillars ("mazzebah") from the east by what was surely a fine road from that quarter of the city. The "high place" is immediately above the amphitheater, and no doubt a road or staircases also came that way. Another road came up from the city west of the amphitheater, and still another larger and easier one from the southwest, so that the "high place" was in the city and accessible from all sides. We noticed also that the east pillar was plainly visible from the northwest portion, the finest part of the ancient city. For if one looks from near or in front of the "Corinthian Tomb," the east pillar stands out conspicuously alone against the eastern sky just as a church steeple in any Christian city.

On our way down we saw three inscriptions, two of which have been copied by Brünnow, and beside one of them a rude cutting of an altar with steps leading up to it, not a bad representation of the altar of the "high place" to which the road undoubtedly leads. Away down the western outlet of the stream, an hour below the ancient city, we saw one hundred feet up on a cliff in the quarries another representation of an altar with two trees beside it. Such ancient cuttings might well be interpreted as pointing to the chief claim to fame for the earliest city in this valley, viz., the existence of this "high place" and center of worship.

Two days later we discovered a *second* high place with all its accessories, of which I hope to send you drawings and photographs very soon.

F. E. Hoskins.

BEIRÛT, SYRIA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See the BIBLICAL WORLD, frontispiece, November, 1901.

## Whork and Whorkers.

REV. SAMUEL DICKEY, professor of Greek and the New Testament in Lincoln University, Pa., has been invited to become adjunct professor of New Testament exegesis at McCormick Theological Seminary. He has accepted the appointment, and will enter upon his new work in January.

PROFESSOR EMIL G. HIRSCH, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., of the University of Chicago, has been appointed editor of the biblical department of the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, to succeed Professor Morris Jastrow, who has edited the biblical articles in the first two volumes of the *Encyclopædia* which have already appeared.

The courses of study for lay workers conducted by Union Theological Seminary are in progress for their second year. The number of courses is large, and the instructors who give them are eminent scholars and workers in the field of religious education. This year a special course is given in biblical literature at the Teachers College of Columbia University by Dr. Richard M. Hodge, who is in charge of this department of Union Theological Seminary.

An interesting article appeared in the Westminster (Toronto) for October, 1902, upon the life and work of Principal William Caven, D.D., LL.D., the head of Knox College, Toronto, and president of the Alliance of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches in Canada. Principal Caven has just celebrated the jubilee of his service among the Canadian churches. He is at the present time one of the most revered and influential scholars of Canada, who has done as much perhaps as any other man to advance Canadian religious thought and activity.

THE HASKELL LECTURES to be given during the present winter in India, by President Charles Cuthbert Hall, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York, are to be upon the general subject "Christian Belief Interpreted by Christian Experience." The titles of the six lectures are as follows: "The Nature of Religion;" "The Christian Idea of God and its Relation to Experience;" "The Lord Jesus Christ the Supreme Manifestation of God;" "The Sin of Man and the Sacrifice of Christ Interpreted by Christian Experience;" "The Ideas of Holiness and Immortality Interpreted by Christian Experience;" and

"Reasons for Regarding Christianity as the Absolute Religion." President Hall reached Colombo early in November, and began his delivery of the lectures at that place.

An annual prize of about \$170 is offered by the Haager Gesell-schaft zur Verteidigung der christlichen Religion for the best essay upon an assigned subject. The subject for the year 1902 was: "What are the grounds for the hypothesis that in the gospels we have no trustworthy description of the teaching and the life of Jesus; and what influence would the adoption of this idea have upon the preaching of ministers and upon the use of the New Testament in religious instruction?" For 1903 the subject is: "Has Christianity, in the light of its history, a view of life different from all others; if so, what is this peculiarly Christian view of life, and what permanent value has it?" These two questions, one in the field of historical criticism, the other in the field of ethics, are among the most important and the most difficult which confront us today. They offer the opportunity for the writing of some valuable treatises with great practical influence.

In a recent report by Rev. George E. White, of Brummana, Syria, of a meeting of the missionaries of Syria and surrounding districts, some facts are given concerning missionary work in Palestine which will be of interest to every Bible student. It is stated that there are about 350 foreign missionaries in Syria, including Palestine. The mission presses at Beirut print between thirty and forty million pages of Christian literature each year for use in this missionary work. The number of pupils in the mission schools steadily increases, as does also the number of those who read the Bible. Many Moslems, it is said, are coming to receive the gospel. With regard to the political view of Palestine, Mr. White stated that Russia is getting a strong hold upon the country through its newly established schools, which now number nearly three hundred. These schools are under the control of the Greek Orthodox Church, and are subsidized to the extent of three hundred thousand dollars a year. In them the study of Russian is required, and the most promising workers are taken to Russia for further education in order that they may later return to Palestine and advance Russian interests. "If this process," he says, "continues for a few years, Russia will have reversionary interests in Syria which no power on earth can deny or ignore."

THE editors of the BIBLICAL WORLD wish to suggest the adoption of a uniform terminology and set of symbols for referring to the two edi-

tions of the Revised Version of the Bible. Since the issue of the American Standard Edition in 1901 it has become necessary to distinguish between this American edition and the edition published in 1881-85 by the British Revision Committee. May we not therefore speak of the Revised Version of 1881-85 as the British Revised Version, the symbol for which will be R. V. (Br.); and the version of 1901 may be designated as the American Revised Version, the symbol for which would be R.V. (Am.). The biblical journals of the University of Chicago have adopted this terminology, and hope to see it recognized and established throughout the press of the United States. It is well that the public should understand that these two editions of the Revised Version are substantially one, at the same time that they recognize that the modifications of the American edition are so many and of such importance that it deserves to be referred to in distinction from the earlier form of the Revised Version published in 1881-85. The current designation "English Revised Version" is ambiguous, since the term "English" may have either a linguistic or a national reference. If used in the linguistic sense, the editions of 1881-85 and 1901 are both "English;" if the term is used in a national sense, it is incorrect, since the edition of 1881-85 was the work of scholars of Great Britain, not of England alone. It will be remembered that in 1809 a so-called "American Edition of the Revised Version" was issued by the Oxford and Cambridge Presses through their American publishing house. This edition might be designated as the British-American Revised Version, with the symbol R. V. (Br.-Am.). We do not believe, however, that this British-American edition should be used or recognized, as it was not the authorized British edition, and is not the authorized American edition. It was properly superseded when the American Standard Edition was issued in 1901.

## Book Reviews.

Encyclopædia Biblica: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by Professor T. K. Cheyne, D.D., and Mr. J. Sutherland Black, LL.D. Vol. III, L-P. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Cols. 2689-3988. \$5.

The previous volumes of this great work on the Bible have been duly reviewed, and its characteristics have become generally known. By reason of Professor Cheyne's editorship, and his extensive contributions on Old Testament subjects, as well as because of the elaborate articles of Professor Schmiedel in the New Testament field, the Encyelopædia Biblica has obtained a reputation for radicalism and subjectivity which does injustice to the major portion of its contents. The work in the main represents the highest scholarship of the advanced type, and is of very great value for professional Bible students. Not a few of its longer articles are superior to those upon the same topics in any other Bible dictionary. It cannot be denied; however, that the point of view of the Encyclopædia Biblica is excessively critical, and that it fails on the whole either to do justice to conservative views or to form a bridge by which one may pass to different views. The interpretation and the hypotheses are those of the advanced school, rather than representative of a consensus of opinion among the whole body of true scholars. The general position of the work cannot be called either moderate or mediating; at the same time, it no doubt in many respects marks the way along which conservative interpretation will move, and therefore can be of great assistance to those who are prepared by study and training to use the Encyclopædia wisely. So far, however, as the remarkable vagaries of Professor Chevne, Professor Schmiedel, Professor van Manen, and certain others are concerned, one may well believe that they will pass as eccentric by-products of scholarship.

As has been the case in the earlier volumes, this one also is devoted mainly to the Old Testament. The space, the strength, and the inter-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the review of Vol. I, see the *Biblical World* for April, 1900, pp. 297-310; for the review of Vol. II, the issue of July, 1901, pp. 67-71.

est have been given to that portion of the Bible. There are New Testament articles, but the longest ones are very unsatisfactory, and most of the topics are treated with undue brevity. It is evident that the editor still adheres to the position which he announced in the preface to the work, that the present literary and historical criticism of the New Testament is so backward and defective that it does not deserve a large amount of recognition. This attitude has been determinative for the *Encyclopædia* as regards the articles upon topics which belong exclusively to the New Testament field. The chief value of the work is for Old Testament study; for the study of the New Testament it cannot be said to be of primary importance.

Biblical History and Archaeology.—The article on "Names" occupies nearly thirty pages and is the joint product of Nöldeke who writes on "personal names," of G. B. Gray, on "place names," and of E. Kautzsch, on "divine names," with the usual additions and emendations of the editor. An abounding wealth of material is furnished. The demand for text-criticism in dealing with names is of course much greater than is felt elsewhere and the readiness of the writers for this Encyclopædia to resort to corrections, while manifest here, is much more justifiable than is the case when different material is in hand. Important special discussions are those on the value of names for the study of Hebrew religion, on the names Yahwe and Elohîm, on the idea of God as father in the Old Testament, and on plurals and duals in place names.

In "Mercy Seat," Deissmann rejects the signification "covering" for Kapporeth and decides for "instrument of propitiation;" he holds that the same meaning must be given to the Greek ελαστήριον which cannot be limited to "propitiatory sacrifice" only. His conclusion as to its meaning in Rom. 3:25 is that not a propitiatory sacrifice is referred to, but fellowship with Christ by blood-communion whereby he is our continual propitiation.

Bertholet rewrites W. Robertson Smith's articles on "Priest" and "Levites." He connects the early Hebrew priest with the Arabian rather than with the Canaanite conception. The priest is guardian of a temple and an oracle rather than offerer of sacrifices; only gradually do ritual activities come to take the first place in his work and turn him into a sacrificer and an organizer of ritual law. The Levites are acknowledged to come from an original Hebrew tribe, which early suffered some mysterious disaster the survivors of which appear as ministers of shrines. The name was extended in time to cover all such

persons, made equivalent to priests. The usual explanation of the gradual separation of the two terms is given.

A radical outcome to the article on "Moses" is to be expected when we find that Dr. Cheyne has taken it in hand. All his special views, like those concerning the north-Arabian Muṣri, Jerahmeel, and Cushan, have full play. The outcome is negative and indefinite. "If it was not an exodus from an Egyptian 'house of servants' that awakened the sense of an almighty and all-righteous protector of Israel, and if it was not through Moses that the meaning of the event was brought home to the people, what other deliverance and what other deliverer are we to set in their place?" From this we are inclined to conclude that, in spite of the stripping off of much religious and political distinction conferred on Moses by the tradition, he is yet historical because Israel's later political and religious life demands him.

Francis Brown and the late Professor Tiele collaborate on the article "Persia." The former discusses the name as it appears in the Old Testament and assigns it to the Greek period. Tiele writes the historical part with accuracy and clearness. He does not seem to us to deal with the early Medo-Persian period in so thorough a way as is desirable. The Ummanmanda, according to him, cannot have been Medes; they were (probably) Scythians. Yet the difficulties of this position are acknowledged. We must await further light before coming to definite conclusions. A fuller treatment of the relations of Persia to its provinces as illuminative of the post exilic community would have been a great boon to the student and is the only serious lack in the article.

"Law and Justice" is an orderly and lucid discussion of the growth of tribal custom into law, to be modified in various ways by the settlement of a population in a given country. These laws, at first mere customs, were embodied in writing, and alongside the main codes were other oral laws that finally were put into written form. The administration of these laws was also provided for on quite an elaborate scale. The results of court procedure often resulted in punishment of some transgressor of the law. Provisions were amply made for all such criminals, though details are usually meager. One of the most interesting sections of Jewish law was that pertaining to personal rights, regarding family, slaves, land, buying and selling, compensations for damages, and inheritance. Occasional references to the present-day customs among the Arabs and to those among contemporaneous peoples illumine the article.

"Marriage" is a well-proportioned article on all the chief phases of the problem in Hebrew times. Beginning with the betrothal, the author carries the discussion down through marriage festivities, polygamy, divorce, widows, and the levirate marriage. The entire treatment is based on the supposition that the current analysis of the Pentateuch is a fact, and the material is so arranged. The biblical facts furnish about all the matter employed in this article, though references to outside customs show that the author had at his command a wide range of illustrative contemporaneous customs.

"Mourning Customs" is a brief—an all too brief—presentation of the biblical facts. Aside from the recital of biblical references, the author devotes more than half his space to the discussion of the origin of those customs. Here he presents points made by W. R. Smith, Schwally, and Frazer, and refers to other articles for the discussion of special phases of the theme, such as "Cuttings," "Lamentations," etc.

"New Moon" is also a short article, as its treatment was given in part under the article "Feasts." Recourse is had here to the investigations of Lagarde and Wellhausen, in addition to the meager Scripture passages on the theme. Though the festival of the "New Moon" assumed some real importance in the times of Saul and David, surprise is expressed that there is no mention of it either in the "book of the covenant" or in the Deuteronomic law. The explanation given by Wellhausen is that such omission was due to the fact that the lunar festivals came into rivalry with Yahwe-worship. If such was the purpose of the writers, it failed to succeed, for there are numerous later references to the observance and regulation of this festival.

"Passover" enters into the question with some fulness. After designating the Harvest festival, that of Unleavened Bread, and the offering which attended this feast, the author conjectures that the Massoth festival was of Canaanitish origin, while he acknowledges at the same time (col. 3592) that there is "no direct evidence of the existence among the Canaanites of any such spring festival; but a thanksgiving harvest festival is attested in Judg. 9:27." At the time "there were two adjacent festivals: (1) a popular hag, the feast of the Massoth, at which also the firstlings of cattle were offered, and (2) a sacrifice celebrated within the family circle, the pésah, at which the sacrificial victim was slain with a specially solemn ritual" (col. 3597). These feasts were finally united, and the offering of the first-born was made in connection with the pésah. This represents in part the process on the author's plan by which the Passover feast of later days

grew up. It was the result of the amalgamation of several observances which fell in the early springtime, and the steps in this process are those discovered in the various documents out of which the Pentateuch was composed.

"Pentecost" has had its main thesis discussed under "Feasts." There it, with the other two feasts of harvest and ingathering, was based on a Canaanitish foundation. But the real ground for such a decision proves to be a pure conjecture. And to minimize its importance, Ezekiel is said not to have included it among his feasts. Its origin is attributed to the fact that there is such a variety of times dependent on different altitudes in Palestine when the beginning of harvest is to be celebrated, that gradually there arose the independent harvest festival called "Pentecost."

"Leprosy" is treated by a specialist, and in a way to be helpful to the Bible student. He takes up with thoroughness the question of house and garment leprosy and presents modern explanations for them. The treatment of "true leprosy," while scientific, is clear and plain, as touching both ancient and modern cases of the disease. He cannot discuss every case in the Old and New Testament, but does in a general way classify them.

"Medicine" is an interesting collection of the primitive biblical approaches to what we today call "medicine." It brings to the front such cases as salting the new-born babe (Ezek. 16:4), Joram's healing (2 Kings 8:29) after the battle of Ramoth-gilead, the sunstroke of the Shunammite's son (2 Kings 4:18-35), and the killing of the poisonous effect of herbs (2 Kings 4:41). With the priests was lodged power to determine cases of leprosy and to dispose of them. The therapeutic methods were very primitive, but sometimes effective. The sanitary provisions of those days, both for the person and his habitation, added greatly to the health and longevity of the ancient Hebrews. Such specifications observed averted many of the ills which call for the most skilful medical treatment of this day.

"Magic" is written by two authors. T. W. Davies takes up the Old and New Testament terms and discusses each individually, while Zimmern presents the place of "magic" in the Babylonian religion. There is ample reference to the chief literature on the subject, and the discussions are as full as the amount of space will permit. The views presented are in the main based on sound evidence, and give the reader a reasonable idea of what ancient magic purported to be.

Old Testament Introduction.—"Leviticus" and "Numbers" are by

Professor George F. Moore, who has also the articles on Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy in the previous volumes. In the treatment of both these books a careful and exhaustive analysis of the material is given, with occasional textual notes and emendations. In general, the accepted critical views regarding the structure of the books are maintained and enforced. Special attention is given to the phenomena presented by the Holiness law of Leviticus, which is regarded as only a fragment of a more complete code. The arguments to prove that other fragments of this code are to be identified in various parts of the Hexateuch are not considered cogent. The laws in H were gathered presumably from various sources in different priestly families or guilds. Yet an impression of unity is made by the work in the present form (against Baentsch, who holds H to be the work of three or more hands). The character of the section shows its affinity with the literature of the close of the seventh and the sixth century - Deuteronomy, Jeremiah and particularly Ezekiel. The dependence of H on Deuteronomy is, however, denied. But the literary connection with Ezekiel is indubitable, though Graf's conjecture of the prophet's authorship of H is untenable. Ezekiel judges by a standard similar to H and shares with it many words and phrases. His use, not only of laws found in that code, but as well of their hortatory setting, indicates his indebtedness to it for both. Yet the new features added by Ezekiel prove that his place is later than H, which may therefore be assigned to a half century earlier. The total difference of H in tone and atmosphere from P and its closer resemblance to JE and D are also pointed out. Leviticus as a whole is not to be regarded as the work of P, but of the later editor whose hand also appears in the construction of Exodus and Numbers. Numbers, closely related to Leviticus in point of view, differs from it in combining, like Exodus, history and legislation. The method of combining IE and P and the nature of the redaction are similar to those in Exodus. J and E were united by a redactor who harmonized them when necessary. Subsequently IE was united with the parallel history of P. Yet the hypothesis of simple composition, JE united with a priestly code containing the P history and priestly laws, cannot explain the phenomena of Numbers. Much of the material contained in the book came from different hands and periods.

"Proverbs," by Professor C. H. Toy, of Harvard, is a discriminating discussion of the title, canonicity, text, and versions, form, authorship, date, process of formation, related literature, and bibliography of the book. It is impossible, he thinks, to regard Solomon as in any

sense the author. We cannot even trust to such a title as 25:1. Solomon no doubt had the reputation of being a wise man, but for what reason we have no knowledge. The only criteria for a judgment regarding date and authorship are offered by (a) the conception of life presented by the book, (b) the social conditions of the age, (c) the ethical ideas, (d) religious beliefs, (e) the relation of Proverbs to other books, and (f) linguistic peculiarities. These all point to the Greek period, not only for the date of the final literary form, but for most of the materials. The proverbs have the form and character of products of the schools, not of popular utterance. The personification of wisdom is a convincing mark of late date.

"Lamentations" is by Cheyne, with unimportant portions preserved from W. R. Smith's article in the Encyclopædia Britannica. The five poems are considered as to form and age. Chaps. 1, 2, and 4 are dirges, late in their present form, but perhaps preserving imbedded phrases of earlier elegies. Chap. 5 belongs to Nehemiah's age, though before the actual work of the governor began. Zion is still desolate, but the deliverer is at hand. The writer is a member of the strict religious party. It is the earliest and poorest of the poems, but cannot be regarded as earlier than 470-450 B. C. Parallels with the second and third Isaiah (i. e., 56-66), and Job are pointed out. Chaps. 2 and 4 are twin poems belonging to the late Persian period. Similar parallels with the late literature are noted. The king in 4:20 is not Josiah, as those who contend for a Jeremian authorship maintain, but Zedekiah, who is only a symbol of the Davidic dynasty. Chap. 1 is slightly later still. Chap. 3 shows close resemblance to Ps. 119 and other liturgical psalms. It belongs to the pre-Maccabean portion of the Greek age. The relation of Jeremiah to any portion of Lamentation is not to be considered, and the traditions to this effect arose out of misuse of an uncritical text. The latter is here fully revised.

The article on "Micah" presents in one section the critical views up to 1883, representing W. R. Smith's opinion of the book, and giving prominence to the work of Ewald, Roorda, and Kuenen. Cheyne in the remainder of the article brings this criticism up to date, but lays emphasis upon the work of Wellhausen and Stade. König's treatment of Micah, chaps. 4 ff., is regarded as too conservative, and Driver is even more cautious. The conclusion is that in no part of chaps. 4-7 is Micah's hand to be detected. Chaps. 1-3 are "mostly genuine." The leading sections of chaps. 4-7 are by "some post-exilic writer, who, looking back on the Babylonian invasion, described in the style

of prediction how the north-Arabian peoples came against Jerusalem and carried away some of its inhabitants." Another writer, devoted to the messianic hope, inserted 5: 1-3. A still further hand appears in 2:12 f. and 4:6 f.

"Malachi" is treated by Professor Torrey of Yale, upon the basis of W. R. Smith's earlier article. The name is not that of the writer, but is borrowed from 3:1. The date is in the Persian period, late rather than early. The nearest parallels are found in the Psalter and the Wisdom literature. The position of the book at the end of the canon affords a slight hint as to its lateness. It may be assigned to the first half of the fourth century. The judgment of the book as an example of the degeneracy of the Hebrew prophecy is pronounced unjust.

The several articles on various classes of Old Testament literature, although necessarily involving consideration of many topics treated also in connection with the articles on the various books, constitute an excellent feature of this work, since an opportunity is thus given to present the larger aspects and more general characteristics of the kinds of literature in question. The distribution of space seems, however, somewhat disproportionate, "Prophetic Literature" receiving twenty-two pages, while "Law Literature" is given only seven pages, and "Poetical Literature" only five. The importance of these latter topics and the treatment accorded them are such as to make us wish that it had been possible to give their writers larger opportunity.

The article "Law Literature," by G. Buchanan Gray, discusses briefly the Jewish theory concerning the origin of all law, the evidence for the existence of written laws in early times, the reasons for committing them to writing, and the new necessity of circulating the law among the people which arose with the introduction of Deuteronomy. The larger part of the article consists of a review of the historical development of the law literature through the six periods. The critical point of view is practically that represented by the Oxford Hexateuch. Deuteronomy is considered a fusion of two different editions of the original work, each with its own historical introduction. The Law of Holiness is assigned to the exile. The Priestly Code was prepared in the early post-exilic period, probably in Babylon, but many additions were made to it after Ezra's time. Ezra's law was the Priestly Code only, and the union of the various documents into the present Hexateuch took place probably a generation or two after Ezra's day. The treatment is thoroughly good and trustworthy, though exception must be taken to the statement that subsequent to Deuteronomy "the history of law-literature is the history of the increasing supremacy of rules based on the past over the living spirit of the present" as presenting only half the truth.

The brief contributions by Paul Volz and H. Guthe to the article on "Prophetic Literature" are its saving elements. The great bulk of the article is from Professor Cheyne himself and abounds in "critical conjectures" and novel hypotheses, the acceptance of which involves the rewriting of a large part of the history of prophecy. By most daring textual emendations Professor Chevne discovers the name terahmeel in such names and words as 'elôhîm, Ramah, Elijah, Micaiah, Ahijah, Carmel, Aram, Ekron, Meholah, Jordan, Gilgal, Jericho, Ephraim, Ramoth-gilead, Edom, Ammon, Chebar, Tel-Abib, Gog, Magog, Gomer, Diblaim, Jerusalem, Belial, Nineveh, Elam, Arpad, King, etc., etc. Other new and surprising statements are, e. g., that Elijah, Elisha, and the "sons of the prophets" were of north-Arabian origin, the Negeb having been a nursery of prophets and Levites; that Ahab's wife Jezebel and the religion she practiced and Elijah opposed came not from Phœnicia, but from north Arabia; that Amos was a native, not of Tekoa, but of Kadesh-jerahmeel, and his work was all done in the Negeb which in his day belonged to northern Israel, the Bethel to which Amos went being located there and not in the north, while Shimron, a north-Arabian name, must be substituted for Samaria in many passages of Amos; that Hosea was a Jerahmeelite, having lived and worked in the Negeb; that Jonah's mission was to the capital of the Jerahmeelites, not to Nineveh; that the so-called "Scythian prophecies" of Jeremiah refer in reality to the peoples of north Arabia; that Ezekiel worked, not in Babylon, but in north Arabia; and that Isa., chaps. 40-55, originated in north Arabia. It is quite certain that north Arabia must have played a larger part in connection with Israel's history than the traditions have indicated; but this cannot be shown to be true by the methods here employed.

The excellent article on "Poetical Literature" by Bernhard Duhm confines itself almost entirely to a treatment of questions touching the external form, the spirit and contents of the material being left out of consideration; this is greatly to be regretted. The literature is classified under three periods: (1) prior to Amos, popular or folk poetry; (2) Amos to Ezra, prophetic poetry; (3) from Ezra on, lyric and didactic poetry. The metric system of Ley, Briggs, et al., according to which only tone-syllables are counted, the number of unaccented syllables

being immaterial, is declared the most satisfactory. Emphasis is rightly laid upon the importance of meter for textual criticism and exegesis. By no means sufficient attention is given to the place occupied by the strophe in poetic composition. The statement that Hosea invariably uses the four-line strophe will hardly hold true (see American Journal of Semitic Languages, Vol. XVII, pp. 1–15). The Song of Songs is correctly classified as a drama rather than, with Budde, as a collection of wedding-songs. On this point Budde must sooner or later withdraw his opinion. Like every product of Professor Duhm's mind, this article is scholarly and stimulating.

The first section of Canon Cheyne's article on "The Book of Psalms" is a reprint of W. Robertson Smith's article in the Encyclopædia Britannica, with a few additional notes from the editor. This serves as an "Introductory Discussion." Then follows a "Survey of Recent Criticism," in which the opinions of Kautzsch, König, Driver, J. P. Peters, Budde, Duhm, Kirkpatrick, Wildeboer, Wellhausen, and W. Robertson Smith concerning the Psalter come under review. The final section, "Fresh Survey of Psalter," contains the author's own views. Here again the north-Arabian theory comes largely into play. A long list is given of new explanations of psalm-titles, and another list of sixteen emended historical references in the psalm-titles, the explanations and emendations proceeding from the theory that these titles are full of names which are corruptions of Jerahmeel and other north-Arabian names; "of David," e. g., represents an original "of Jedithun," and "Songs of degrees" is corrupted from "Songs of Salmah," the name of a north-Arabian clan. All the divisions of the singers are declared to bear clan-names of north-Arabian or south-Palestinian origin. The historical background of many psalms is found in connection with north-Arabian hostilities, e. g., 35, 42, 43, 44, 60, 74, 77, 83, 120, 137, 2, 18, 20, 21, 61, 63, 45, 72, 101, 16, 17, 49, 73. The existence of pre-exilic psalms or ascertainable fragments of such in the Psalter is denied. Books 1-3 are assigned to the Persian period, or to the end of the Persian and the beginning of the Greek period, while Books 4 and 5 are ascribed to the Greek period. Canon Cheyne's work is, as always, replete with learning and originality, but the inclusion of such hypotheses as appear in these articles is of very doubtful expediency in a work intended for the use of the general public.

The article upon Maccabees is admirable, both in method and in contents. As regards 1 Maccabees, Professor Torrey presents no

novelty, but holds to the integrity of the book as it now stands, including even chapters 14-16. Both it and the work of Jason used in 2 Maccabees he regards as coming from contemporaries of the events described. The letters with which 2 Maccabees begins, he believes were prefixed by the epitomist to his larger work.

New Testament Articles.—Jesus is the subject of three important articles, "Mary," "Messiah," and "Nativity." Little need be said concerning the first two. That upon "Mary" contains, as would be expected, an exhaustive discussion of the identification of the different persons bearing the name. Its results are perhaps as certain as are ever to be expected from any attempt to answer riddles, but naturally are of archæological rather than theological interest. The real importance of the article lies in its discussion of the paternity of Jesus, and here it is in substantial agreement with the more elaborate article upon "Nativity." The article upon "Messiah" is a thorough presentation of the main facts at our disposal. It is, however, singularly conventional in its treatment of the later messianic hope, and quite fails to grasp the significance of the idea to Christianity. It is not sufficient to trust such a fundamental matter to cross references. At the same time it is hardly more than should be expected from the general indifference shown in the entire dictionary to sound historical, as distinct from subjective philological, method. In the article by Professor Usener upon the "Nativity" we have probably the strongest possible presentation of the argument against the historicity of the so-called infancy sections of Matthew and Luke. Its essential positions are these: The accounts are the outgrowth of the doctrinal development of the post-apostolic church. The early Christians had no belief in the miraculous birth, as is shown (according to the author) by the two genealogies, both of which are based upon the supposition that Jesus was the true son of Joseph, by the Lukan account of the temple episode, by the Christologies of Acts, and by the silence of the New Testament as to the matter. Bethlehem was made the birth place from purely dogmatic reasons, Jesus being actually born in Nazareth. Luke 1:34, 35 is an interpolation of Jewish origin, while the Matthean story as a whole came from Græco-Roman sources. In support of these positions the various data—and absence of data—of the New Testament and the early Fathers are treated at length.

Canon Robinson writes on "Presbyter" and "Prophetic Literature (New Testament)." In the former he traces the steps of the process by which "the elder brethren" became the official, or semi-official,

"elders" of the churches. It is pointed out how subordinate was the position of the presbyterial organization during the period within which Paul wrote his great doctrinal epistles. "The church as a whole in each place had alike full powers and full responsibility for the exercise of its powers." The second article reviews the conception of prophecy in the New Testament and in the early church, concluding that "the institution of prophecy contained the elements of its own dissolution." The rivalry between irresponsible prophets and the constituted authorities could only result in the victory of the latter. "Irregularity was destined to give way to regularity, and the ministry of enthusiasm yielded to the ministry of office."

In his article of twenty-five pages on "Ministry," Professor Schmiedel traverses the period from the life of Jesus to 180 A. D. He starts with the idea that Jesus did not intend to found a separate religious community, but was a consistent adherent of the law. The sayings about the establishing of a "church" in Matthew are spurious, and Jesus instituted neither baptism nor the Lord's Supper. Only after his death were the conditions favorable to the production of institutions. As belief in his Messiahship and resurrection developed, it supplied the motives to institutional church-building. On the question of the relation of "elder" and "bishop," Schmiedel pronounces confidently for their identity.

The "Lord's Day" is briefly treated by Professor Deissmann, who discusses the few relevant New Testament notices, the allusion to a fixed day of Christian worship in Pliny's letter to Trajan (ca. 112 A. D.), and the references in Justin Martyr. The author thinks that while the beginnings of Sunday observance are obscure, it is probable that the post-apostolic usage was based on apostolic custom. Though the Græco-Roman nomenclature which named the days after the planets was in use (as by Justin and Tertullian), the early church preferred the designations "first day," "eighth day," or "Lord's day," that is, the day of the Lord's resurrection.

Professor Adolf Jülicher writes the succinct article on "Logos." The principal facts are stated. There is no peculiarity in the New Testament use of the term "Logos" except in the fourth gospel. There it is used as a name for the eternally pre-existing Christ who was with God and was God. Thus from John 1:1 ff. we may define the Logos as a divine being, yet still sharply distinguished from God—so that monotheism is not directly denied nor equal to the Father, yet endowed with all divine powers whereby to bring to pass the will

of God concerning the universe." On the origin of the Logos-idea in the fourth gospel the author maintains that it is borrowed from Philo, but adapted with great skill by the writer to the purposes of his Christian philosophy. This identification of Christ with the Logos of Philonic speculation made its contribution to the development of the metaphysics of Deity which culminated in the Nicene period.

The longest New Testament article (seventeen pages) is on "Paul:" the first half is by Dr. Edwin Hatch, reproduced from the Encyclopædia Britannica; the second half is by Professor W. C. van Manen, of the University of Leiden. Hatch's biographical article on Paul was a scholarly piece of work, and still has great value, although the history of the apostolic age and of Paulis now much more fully and clearly understood than it was fifteen years ago. Had the supplemental portion been written by a representative scholar of England or Germany, this composite article on Paul might have been counted first-class, although it would have been inconvenient to use because not unified.2 But Professor Cheyne's peculiar notions of New Testament literature led him to invite as author for this portion a Dutch scholar of most extravagant and improbable views about Paul. The result is that the last half of the article gives, not what sound scholarship holds concerning Paul and his epistles, but what is almost universally pronounced an untenable reconstruction of the New Testament history. Admitting that Paul, a Jew, and later a Christian disciple, lived and worked in the first generation of Christianity, he denies that any of the canonical epistles were written by him, or that these epistles and the book of Acts give trustworthy knowledge concerning him; so that the real character, ideas, and work of Paul are practically unknown to us.

In the same drastic manner Professor van Manen deals with the subject of the New Testament canon in the article on "Old-Christian Literature." He says that the distinction between canonical and non-canonical Christian writings must be abandoned; the study of the New Testament books and of the patristic writings must be amalgamated. This is maintained for two reasons: (1) because the dates at

<sup>2</sup> The more one uses the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, the stronger becomes one's conviction that it was a grand mistake in the planning of the work to adopt the composite plan, incorporating matter from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (which was ten to twenty years old) and supplementing it. All the articles should have been written entirely anew.

<sup>3</sup> There is no excuse for introducing into English this imitation of the technical German phrase, "altchristliche Litteratur." We already have the term "Early Christian Literature," which means the same.

present accepted for the New Testament books are mostly wrong, as they belong in the main to the second century; (2) because there is nothing in the origin, the ideas, or the value of the New Testament books that distinguishes them from the second century Christian writings. Certainly, if these two things are so, there is no reason for classifying or studying the New Testament books as a special group. But neither of these allegations is true, according to the consensus of all sane scholarly opinion. The article is one of the most unsatisfactory treatments of its subject that can be found anywhere in print; it accomplishes very little, even toward the presentation of its own point of view.

The article upon the "Petrine Epistles" is by Professor Orello Cone, whose radical views are well known. Neither of the epistles had any connection with the apostle Peter, direct or indirect. They are both post-apostolic in time. The first is "deutero-Pauline," marking a transition from Paulinism to the Fourth Gospel; the second belongs to the last half of the second century. After reading such an article one returns with renewed thankfulness to Dr. Chase's able and moderate discussion of these two epistles in the Hastings Dictionary of the Bible.

Professor Nestle contributes the article upon the "Lord's Prayer," treating with minuteness the problem of its form and meaning, dwelling particularly upon its relations to rabbinical literature, and giving patristic testimony concerning the prayer. It is a linguistic study of the prayer that is given; and this does not carry us very far toward understanding it, for we should have a study of its ideas in relation to the whole teaching of Jesus, and an exposition of its value and use as presenting the essence of the gospel taught by him. The two-page article by Professor Jülicher on "Parables" sets forth as fully as the cramped space permits the admirable method of interpreting the parables which has been previously presented in his great work, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (1899). "They bear unmistakable evidence of genuineness, and thus tell us with no uncertain voice what lay nearest to the very heart of Jesus."

Through Science to Faith. By REV. NEWMAN SMYTH, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. 289. \$1.50, net.

Since Kant's merciless criticism of the traditional arguments of natural theology, this phase of theological speculation has been somewhat discredited. It needed only the rise of the doctrine of evolution to complete the collapse of theistic arguments, based on the presuppo-

sition of a static universe mechanically created, and existing in unchanging form. Dr. Smyth rightly says: "The older natural theology, in which but a generation ago Christian faiths might still find safe and comfortable shelter, has become uninhabitable; the new is yet to be built" (p. 3). To the construction of this new edifice he devotes himself.

It is a relief to turn from the timid and apologetic tone which many writers on theological subjects assume in dealing with the conception of evolution, to the frank and cordial attitude of Dr. Smyth. He recognizes that, since the doctrine of evolution has become a fundamental principle of the scientific interpretation of nature, it is preposterous to expect to pass "through nature to God" today by any path which does not follow the sign-posts of current natural science.

Our method will be a simple, but positive method. We shall not seek to adapt science to religion, or to impose faith upon science. We shall seek to learn from the biologists the significant facts which they have observed. Secondly, we shall accept and make the most of their theories or explanations of the observed facts, so far as they may be made to go. Thirdly, we shall inquire for ourselves, what may be their higher and larger significance for our rational and religious conception of the world. (P. 5.)

Tracing the process of evolution as set forth by biologists, we find an unmistakable teleology evident in all the stages of development, from unconscious matter up through the various forms of life until man, with free, self-conscious intelligence, crowns the process. To assume that nature should eventually produce self-conscious intelligence by the mechanism of material forces involves us in hopeless confusion. "The world, as a spiritual evolution, is at least rational, if it be not fully comprehensible; the world as mechanical evolution is neither comprehensible nor rational." (P. 178.)

We also find an increasing valuation of the individual life as compared with the life of the species. Whereas, in the lower orders of life, the survival of the species is attained only by the immense sacrifice of individual development, in humanity the survival-value of the individual becomes supreme.

Has not, at least in man's life, a point of equilibrium between the vital value of the species and the worth of the individual life been reached and passed? Has not life the most at stake now in the continuance of personality? (P. 191.)

The book is written in Dr. Smyth's well-known clear and fascinating style, and presents in a most attractive way the spiritual inferences

which may naturally follow from scientific theories. It would be easy to emphasize the vagueness of the spiritual content of this new natural theology; but such vagueness is the inevitable price of scientific modesty, which refuses to force conclusions beyond what is warranted by the facts. The most that can be asked of an objective survey of nature is to demonstrate the presence of a spiritual reality. The limitations of such a survey are seen when the further question is asked: What is "spiritual reality?" It means nothing unless we define it in terms of personality. But personality is not discovered by biological science. In fact, such science is impelled by its very nature to reduce, so far as possible, the territory of free personality; for freedom refuses to lend itself to laboratory methods of establishing exact laws. When, therefore, Dr. Smyth comes to deal with the realm of free personality, he is compelled to import into his biological argument something discoverable only by introspection. It is safe to say that, unless one first believes in the reality of personal freedom, he would never arrive at that belief by the study of a science which can make no place for freedom. It is to be feared, therefore, that, unless the reader possesses to begin with, either implicitly or explicitly, the "faith" to which the scientific argument is supposed to lead, he will experience difficulty in making the jump from the apparently pantheistic universe, for all creatures below man, to the theistic universe in which man dwells. In other words, it is questionable whether the real basis of a belief in God, the soul, and immortality can be found anywhere save in the immediate dicta of our spiritual consciousness.

But, while it is true that men generally do not reach faith by any such path as is here indicated, it is nevertheless a cause for congratulation that our newest scientific discoveries make room for the recognition of spiritual reality in the universe. The book is a fresh and scholarly presentation of a line of thought which will unquestionably be of real service to the ever-increasing number of those who find it a serious problem to coordinate the newer scientific thinking with the eternal *credo* of religious faith.

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## Current Literature.

[Books marked with an asterisk (\*) will be reviewed in subsequent issues.]

#### OLD TESTAMENT.

#### BOOKS.

Delitzsch, Friedrich. Babel [i.e., Babylon] and Bible. A Lecture on the Significance of Assyriological Research for Religion. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1902. Pp. 66.

We have here a translation of the now celebrated address of Dr. Delitzsch, professor of Assyriology in the University of Berlin, which he delivered last winter before the German emperor, and which has stirred up much excitement among the people who have hitherto paid little attention to the mass of information which the recently discovered remains of ancient Assyria have contributed to our knowledge of the history and of the ideas of the Bible. On the other hand, to those who have kept themselves informed the address is nothing more than the bringing together in popular form of this new light, which carries back into the far-distant past the beginning of history and of civilization. The world has yet taken but little notice, he says, of the silent intellectual labors of Old Testament scholars. "Yet this much is certain, that when the sum tota and ultimate upshot of the new knowledge shall have burst the barriers of the scholar's study and entered the broad path of life -- shall have entered our churches, schools, and homes - the life of humanity will be more profoundly stirred, and be made the recipient of more significant and enduring progress than it has by all the discoveries of modern physical and natural science put together. Now that the pyramids have opened their depths and the Assyrian palaces their portals, the people of Israel, with its literature, appears as the youngest member only of a venerable and hoary group of nations. The impenetrable background to the scenes of the Old Testament has suddenly fallen, and a keen, invigorating air and a flood of light from the Orient pervade and irradiate the hoary book, animating it and illuminating it the more as Hebrew antiquity is linked together from beginning to end with Babylonia and Assyria." Places, persons, customs, and ideas which are mentioned in the Old Testament can now be located, described, explained, and understood as never before. This fact is abundantly shown in the address, and a great number of illustrations from the monuments accompany the text, so that the eye can aid the mind in grasping the import of all these new discoveries.

OESTERLEY, W. O. E. Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos. Cambridge: University Press, 1902. Pp. 112. \$1.30, net.

ROTHSTEIN, J. W. Die Genealogie des Königs Jojachin und seiner Nachkommen (1 Chron. 3:17-24) in geschichtlicher Beleuchtung. Eine kritische Studie zur jüdischen Geschichte und Litteratur. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1902. Pp. 162. M. 5.

CHARLES, R. H. The Book of Jubilees; or, The Little Genesis. Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text, and edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 366. \$5.25.

### ARTICLES.

- BUDDE, KARL. The Old Testament and the Excavations. American Journal of Theology, October, 1902, pp. 685-708.
- BAENTSCH, B. Babel und Bibel: Eine Prüfung des unter diesem Titel erschienenen Vortrages von Fr. Delitzsch. *Protestantische Monatshefte*, Heft 8, 1902, pp. 287-97.
- PATTON, W. M. Hittites and Semites. Methodist Review (Nashville), September-October, 1902, pp. 722-8.
- König, Ed. and Warren, W. F. Was the Religion in Abraham's Native Country Monotheistic? *Methodist Review* (New York), September-October, 1902, pp. 681-91.
- OESTERLEY, W. O. E. The Sacrifice of Isaac. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXIV, Part 6, pp. 253-60.

It has been made certain that human sacrifice was practiced among the Israelites, and that the victim was usually a first-born son. This practice existed down to the time of David, when it was stopped, and was not resumed until the time of Ahab, more than a century later. The story of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22: 1-19) contains the primitive conception of propitiating the deity by means of the sacrifice of a first-born son; but it contains also advanced ideas of faith and obedience which belonged to a later time. We seem, therefore, to have a very ancient tradition worked over by one who lived centuries after the event, to set forth teaching for his time. The date of this reworking was probably after David, but before the great prophets. The writer saw that, although human sacrifice was prevalent among the surrounding nations, it had been discontinued in Israel; but there was a growing tendency in Israel to resume this and other practices of their neighbors. He therefore took the current ancient tradition, that the patriarch Abraham had offered up his son as a propitiatory sacrifice to the deity, and elaborated it to teach that human sacrifice was forbidden by God, arguing that the God of Israel had himself interposed to stop the ancient usage of their forefathers.

SAYCE, A. H. Light from the Monuments of the Time of Isaiah. *Homiletic Review*, September, 1902, pp. 195-200.

Among all the Hebrew prophets there is none whose figure occupies so large a place in history as that of Isaiah. He was a statesman as well as a prophet, high in the favor of his king and countrymen, and mainly instrumental in shaping their policy at a critical period in Jewish history. By his counsel and action as well as by his prophetical words he did much toward preserving the life and nationality of Judah at a time when, had it been wiped out, there was little likelihood of its ever reviving. Humanly speaking, had it not been for him, that remnant would never have been saved which two centuries later became strong enough to survive the Babylonian exile and to make ready the Jewish church and people for the birth of the Messiah.

König, Ed. Sebna und Eljakim (Jes. 22:15-25). Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, Heft 8, 1902, pp. 621-31.

- KÖNIG, ED. On the Meaning and Scope of Jeremiah 7: 22, 23. Expositor, August, September, 1902, pp. 135-54, 208-18.
- McWilliam, T. The Prophecies of Zechariah, Chaps. 1-8. Expository Times, September, 1902, pp. 549-54.

# NEW TESTAMENT.

## BOOKS.

- \*Cone, Orello. Rich and Poor in the New Testament. A Study of the Primitive-Christian Doctrine of Earthly Possessions. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 245. \$1.50, net.
- BINDEMANN, G. Das Gebet um tägliche Vergebung der Sünden, in der Heilsverkündigung Jesu und in den Briefen des Apostels Paulus. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902. Pp. 105.
- MERX, A. Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte. Übersetzung und Erläuterung der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift. 2. Theil, 1. Hälfte: Erläuterung. Das Evangelium Matthäus. Berlin: Reimer, 1902. Pp. 461. M. 12.
- HOLLMANN. Die Bedeutung des Todes Jesu nach seinen eigenen Aussagen, auf Grund der synoptischen Evangelien. Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. Pp. 160. M. 3.50.

#### ARTICLES.

- HOBEN, T. ALLAN. The Virgin Birth, II. American Journal of Theology, October, 1902, pp. 709-52.
- SITTERLY, C. F. The Culture of Jesus' Family. *Methodist Review* (New York), September-October, 1902, pp. 726-40.

Jesus' father, mother, brothers, kinsfolk, and disciples were people with natures of artless purity, integrity, and grace. Without affectation, their minds were filled with the letter and spirit of the national literature. From this circle proceeded ten of the New Testament books; the culture factors of the New Testament literature are clearly traceable to the family and familiars of our Lord. Jesus found kinship in spirit as well as in flesh with the very best people in Palestine. He was a gentleman; his tastes were refined, his manners were quiet, his speech was chaste, his sympathies were catholic. By birth and by breeding the Son of man was allied to the best traditions of his race.

- RAMSAY, W. M. The Education of Christ. *Homiletic Review*, October, 1902, pp. 291-7.
- GARVIE, A. E. Studies in the "Inner Life" of Jesus. VIII: The Judgment of Religious Rulers and Teachers. IX: The Scope of the Ministry. Expositor, September, October, 1902, pp. 196-208, 296-308.
- STAERK, W. Jesu Stellung zum jüdischen Messiasbegriff. Protestantische Monatshefte, Heft 8, 1902, pp. 297-309.

HARRIS, J. HENRY. The Occupation of Our Lord. London Quarterly Review, July, 1902, pp. 44-57.

The writer objects to the traditional view, which comes rom the New Testament itself (Mark 6:3; cf. Matt. 13:55), that Jesus was a care enter by trade. The ground of his objection is that a man's trade necessarily affects his speech. That, if Jesus had been a carpenter during his early life, his sayings would contain some of the technical terms of that occupation and he would have used figures drawn from that sphere of life. But these terms and figures do not appear in his recorded sayings, and therefore Jesus was not a carpenter. Instead, he thinks Jesus was a fisherman by trade, because he knew the use of a dragnet (Matt. 13:47 f.), was able to sleep aboard a boat in a storm (Mark 4:35-38), and could detect the presence of a shoal of fish in the sea (John 21:4-6). The theory has the merit of novelty—perhaps that is its only merit.

FISCHER, ERNST. Jesus und das Alte Testament. Beweis des Glaubens, Heft 6, 1902, pp. 193-215.

Jesus did not stand subject to the Old Testament, nor, on the other hand, did he treat it as though he had no concern for it. He stood at the same time in it and above it, as he called himself Lord of the sabbath (Mark 2:28). He showed that the whole Old Testament development led up to him, in order that he might fulfil it, i. e., perfect it (Matt. 5:17).

SWETE, H. B. St. Matthew 28:16-20. Expositor, October, 1902, pp. 241-59. Reid, John. The Poor Rich Fool, Luke 12:21. Expository Times, September, 1902, pp. 567, 568.

FAIRBAIRN, A. M. The Governing Idea of the Fourth Gospel. The Idea of the Fourth Gospel and the Theology of Nature. *Expositor*, September, October, 1902, pp. 161-76, 260-77.

Jannaris, A. N. Does ἀμήν Mean "Verily"? Expository Times, September, 1902, pp. 563-5.

The  $\delta\mu\eta\nu$  which is so frequently prefixed to Jesus' utterances in the gospels is a corruption of  $\mu\eta\nu$  ( $\eta\mu\eta\nu$ ) or  $\epsilon \bar{\ell}$   $\mu\eta\nu$  ( $\epsilon l\mu\eta\nu$ ), which means verily, surely, and is a colloquial expression which suits the contexts and Jesus' mode of speech. The palæography of this change in text transmission presents no difficulty, and that  $\epsilon \bar{\ell}$   $\mu\eta\nu$  was vernacular Greek in the first century A. D. has been proved. In its origin, then, the  $\delta\mu\eta\nu$  as an asseveration has no relation to the  $\delta\mu\eta\nu$  (from Hebrew ) which is used at the end of a prayer or benediction, as in Rom. 1:5; 1 Cor. 14:16.

HAWKINS, J. C. The Disuse of the Markan Source in Luke 9:51—18:14. Expository Times, October, 1902, pp. 18-23.

CONYBEARE, F. C. Ein Zeugnis Ephräms über das Fehlen von c. 1 und 2 im Texte des Lucas. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 192-7.

MEYER, ARNOLD. Johanneische Litteratur, I. Theologische Rundschau, August, 1902, pp. 316-33.

ZÖCKLER, O. Der Wert der Evangelien als Geschichtsquellen. Beweis des Glaubens, Heft 8, 1902, pp. 308-16.

- LOFTHOUSE, W. F. The Hexateuch and the Gospels: A Parallel. Expository Times, September, 1902, pp. 565-7.
- MILLIGAN, GEORGE. Modern Criticism and the Gospels. London Quarterly Review, October, 1902, pp. 308-24.
- Knowling, R. J. Review of Chase's "Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles." *Critical Review*, September, 1902, pp. 436-49. Bernard, E. R. *Ibid. Expository Times*, October, 1902, pp. 13-16.
- DOBSCHÜTZ, E. v. Zu der Völkerliste Act. 2:9-11. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 407-10.
- RAMSAY, W. M. Shall We Hear Evidence or Not? Expositor, September, 1902, pp. 176-95.
- HÖNNICKE, G. Die Chronologie des Lebens des Apostels Paulus. Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, Heft 8, 1902, pp. 569-620.
- CARR, ARTHUR. "All Things Are Yours," I Cor. 3:22. Expositor, October 1902, pp. 309-15.
- Albani, Joh. Die Metaphern des Epheserbriefes. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 420-40.
- KLÖPPER, A. Zur Christologie der Pastoralbriefe (1 Tim. 3:16). Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 339-60.
- CLEMEN, CARL. The First Epistle of St. Peter and the Book of Enoch. Expositor, October, 1902, pp. 316-20.
- Wohlenberg, G. Glossen zum ersten Johannesbrief, Kap. 3. Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, Heft 8, 1902, pp. 632-45.
- GIBBINS, H. J. The Second Epistle of St. John. Expositor, September, 1902, pp. 228-36.
- CORSSEN, P. Noch einmal die Zahl des Tieres in der Apokalypse. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 238-42.
- Andersen, Axel. Das Abendmahl in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten nach Chr. II. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 206-21.
- STEVENS, GEO. B. Is There a Self-Consistent New Testament Eschatology?

  American Journal of Theology, October, 1902, pp. 666-84.

# RELATED SUBJECTS.

#### BOOKS.

- EVERETT, C. C. The Psychological Elements of Religious Faith. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 228. \$1.25, net.
- \*KING, HENRY C. Theology and the Social Consciousness. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 270. \$1.25, net.

KNOX, G. W. AND OTHERS. The Christian Point of View. Three Addresses by Professors in Union Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. 80. \$0.60.

The subjects of the addresses are: "The Problem for the Church," by Professor G. W. Knox; "Theological Reconstruction," by Professor A. C. McGiffert; and the "Religious Value of the Old Testament," by Professor Francis Brown. This vigorous and plain-spoken discussion of three difficult problems in the religious world will be found helpful by many who are able to grapple with fundamental facts of religion and revelation.

- TENNANT, F. R. The Origin and Propagation of Sin. Cambridge: University Press, 1902. Pp. 231. \$1.10, net.
- GEBHARDT, OSCAR V. Die lateinischen Uebersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae, nebst Fragmenten, Auszügen und Beilagen. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 306. M. 9.50.
- Contentio Veritatis: Essays on Constructive Theology. By Six Oxford Tutors. London: Murray, 1902. Pp. 311. 12s., net.
- HILGENFELD, A. Ignatii Antiocheni et Polycarpi Smyrnaei, Epistulae et Martyria, edidit et adnotationibus instruxit. Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn, 1902. Pp. xxiv, 384.

#### ARTICLES.

WILSON, C. W. Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher (continued). Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, July, 1902, pp. 282-97.

The probability is that the selection of the place for Jesus' crucifixion was left to the centurion, and that his choice of Golgotha was fortuitous, or dictated by motives of convenience, and was not due to any desire on the part of Pilate to insult the Jews. The Bible narrative gives no indication of the direction of Golgotha with regard to the city, or to any feature connected with it; nor of the position of the gate by which Christ passed out of the city, nor of the place to which the frequented thoroughfare led. But the more important authorities are now agreed that it must have been some spot, outside the second wall of Josephus, which was situated on the small plateau that lies between the Kidron and Hinnom valleys. Incidentally in this article the site is discussed of Gethsemane and of the Prætorium. With regard to Gethsemane, the general conclusion reached is that, although the authenticity of the traditional site cannot be proved, it is not impossible or improbable. With regard to the Prætorium, where the hearing before Pilate took place, no certain opinion is given. but the writer inclines to the view that it was the palace of Herod, in the west part of the city near the Jaffa Gate. He is sure that Pilate made his residence here rather than at the castle of Antonia during his visits to Jerusalem, and therefore there is probability that this was the place of the trial; but the possibility is not excluded that for some unknown reason the event took place at the Antonia. That the Prætorium of the gospels was Herod's palace is maintained by Alford, Edersheim, Ewald, Keim, Meyer, Schürer, Kreyenbühl, Purves; that it was the castle of Antonia is the view of Caspari, Clermont-Ganneau, Kraft, Langen, Tischendorf, B. Weiss, Westcott. SAYCE, A. H. Recent Work in Egyptology and Assyriology. Critical Review, September, 1902, pp. 387-98.

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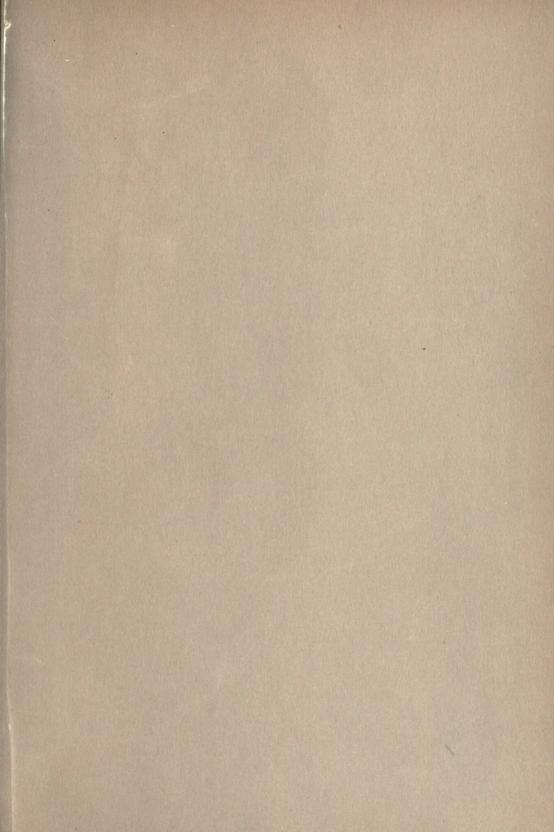
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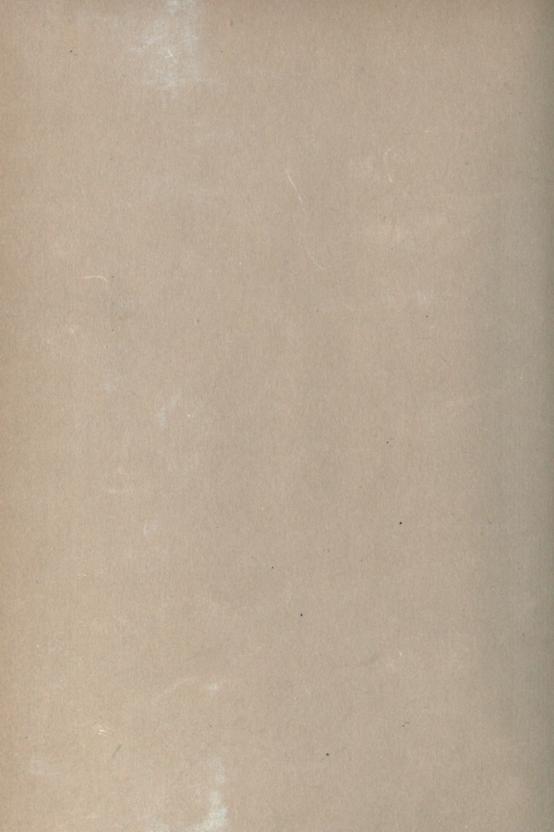
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